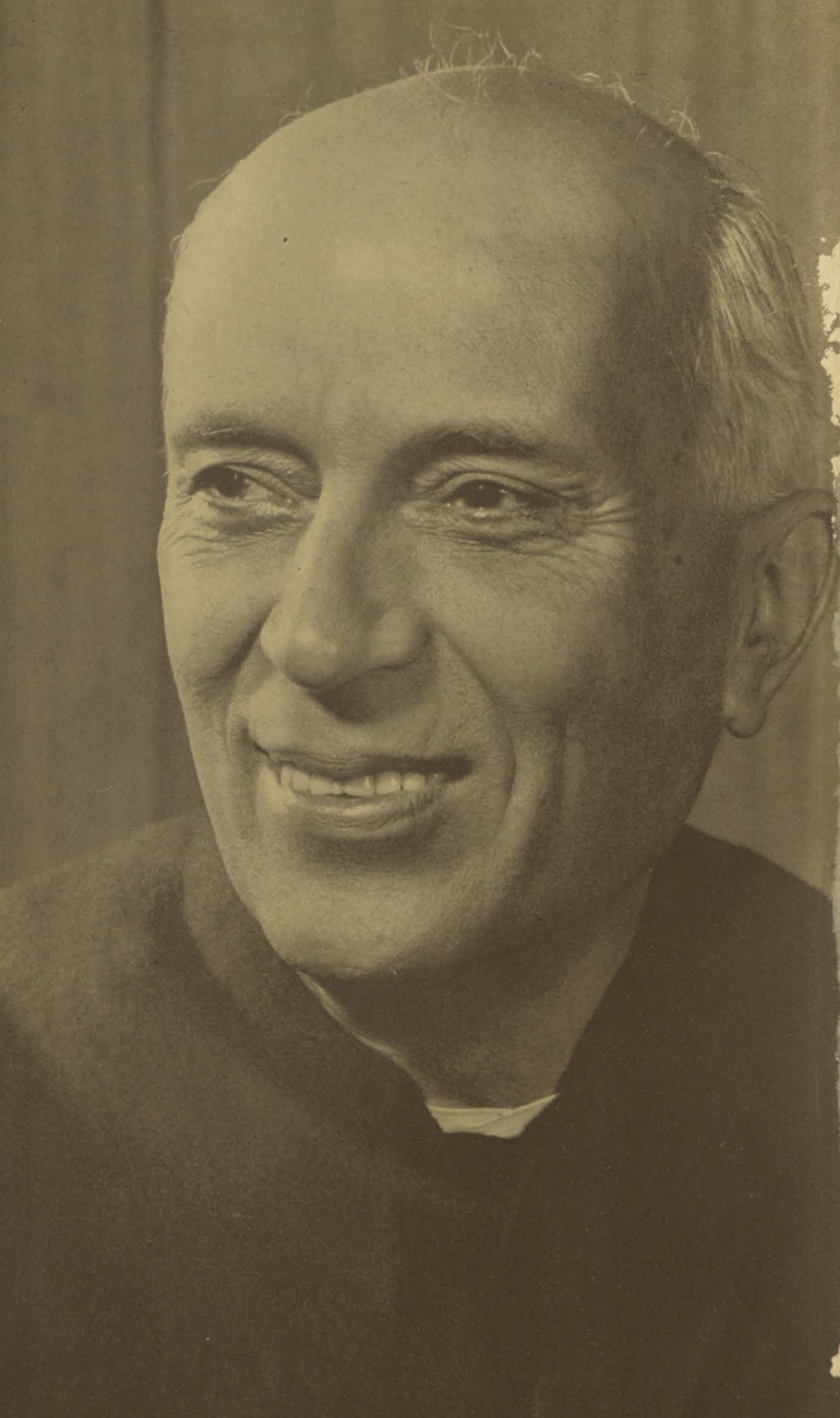
A Study of

NEHRU



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Edited by

RAFIQ ZAKARIA

Foreword by

RAJENDRA PRASAD

President of India

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Foreword

THE HISTORY of India of the last forty years is inextricably wound up with the life story of Jawaharlal Nehru who will be completing his threescore years and ten on the 14th November 1959. It is, therefore, appropriate that the various facets of his life and character, work and achievement are brought out in a series of articles by eminent personalities to mark this happy occasion. *A Study of Nehru* is a valuable addition to the literature that has grown round his name.

Jawaharlal is the greater son of a great father who, when handing over charge of the Indian National Congress as its President to his son in 1929, declared the father's wish and uttered a prophecy in Persian:

Harche ke Pidar natawanad
Pesar tamam kunad.

It means: What the father is unable to accomplish, son achieves.

And so it has been. The Swaraj, to the attainment of which Motilal Nehru had dedicated the last years of his life, was achieved after he was gone, the son playing a leading role in the struggle.

Jawaharlal Nehru drew inspiration and guidance from Mahatma Gandhi, but it is not as if he was a dumb follower. On many an occasion he differed and made his own substantial contribution to the making up of the programme which Mahatma Gandhi followed. Those who are familiar with the history of the Indian National Congress know how on many an occasion he was able to give important turn to Congress policies. It was not without reason therefore that Mahatma Gandhi named him as his successor, knowing full well that while Jawaharlal differed from him in some important respects, he was firmly fixed in the most fundamental elements of his thoughts and ideas.

Since Independence, which unfortunately coincided with Gandhiji's disappearance from the scene, Jawaharlal has played a most important role in framing the internal as well as external policies of the country. In fact, except in one respect, namely the integration of the princely States, his has been an almost exclusive role both in framing and executing the national programme. He, more than anyone else, has been responsible for planning and making the country Plan-minded.

In the domain of foreign policy, Jawaharlal has evolved from India's age-old principles of non-violence and tolerance, the theory of Panchshila, which has been accepted by many countries of the world, big and small. It is idle to speculate what Mahatma Gandhi would have done with the armed forces of his country if he had lived to carry further his own ideals. It redounds to Jawaharlal's credit that he has managed to reconcile idealism with the realistic demands of the situation. It is no small matter to get the principle of peaceful co-existence accepted even while large armed forces are maintained. Undoubtedly the tremendous progress of science and technology has made it possible, if not necessary, even for big powers to think in terms of peaceful co-existence by presenting them with the inescapable choice between co-existence and non-existence.

Jawaharlal is essentially a man of science and technology, with undoubted faith in their progress and achievements. All the same, at the back of it all, there is in him a spiritual strain which is marked. While placing full reliance on the development of science and harnessing scientific knowledge for the eradication of misery and poverty, he is conscious of the limitations of such material progress without submission to some kind of spiritual principle.

Jawaharlal is a man of culture in the widest and best sense of the expression. He is a man with ideas born of study of books and widespread contact with men, Indian and foreign. His emotional nature and his innate independence of thought have helped him in developing a style of expression which is

direct and captivating. He is a gifted writer wielding the pen as an artist.

He is a man of ideals aiming principally at raising that part of humanity, in particular, which inhabits India. He is a man of independence of thought and action, and he is not afraid to express himself. He is a man of determination. When he has once set his heart on a particular objective, he will work for it for all he is worth and will not count any sacrifice too great for it.

Above all, he is human. It is this milk of human kindness which nourishes all his work in connection with, and for the furtherance of, his social programme. The dominant idea underlying such a programme is genuine and real sympathy for the underdog. While this natural humaneness inheres in all his noble efforts, he is also subject to some of the nobler failings and weaknesses natural to it. He is loyal — loyal not only to ideals but also to individuals.

All in all, here is a man the like of whom treads this earth but rarely and only in a crisis. He has been born and has lived in a critical period in India's history, and has played his part nobly and well.

May he live long to see the trees he has planted in such plenty bear fruit. This is the prayer of one who has been a privileged co-worker for the greater part of his life.

RAJENDRA PRASAD

Vijayadasmi, Samvat 2016.
11*th October* 1959.

The Project

For the purpose of assessing and evaluating the great experiments that are being conducted in our country in diverse fields—social, economic, cultural—and in regard to international relations a study of Jawaharlal Nehru, principal director and organiser of these experiments, was decided upon by Bennett, Coleman & Co., Ltd. about six months ago. The result is the book *A Study of Nehru* published on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

This study will not only help future historians to understand contemporary happenings in their proper perspective and to appreciate the basic thoughts behind them, but also provide guidance and food for reflection to future administrators and planners.

Jawaharlal Nehru is essentially a democrat in action and even more so in thought, although he was brought up in an aristocratic tradition and has all the potentialities of a dictator. The motivating force of his approach to all problems is high idealism. Equality to him is the inner core of democracy. He is full of ideas; and new situations always find him concentrating on one or more of such ideas with singleminded devotion. As an idea begins to take wings, he welcomes criticism by all, experts and others, and gives it a concrete shape, often adjusting it to the criticism, perhaps unconsciously. This constitutes the secret of his more successful schemes.

Nehru's democratic methods have earned the country rich dividends. He has maintained its secular character in spite of the upsurge of emotions aroused by the great killing after partition and resultant migration of several millions of people. India's national consciousness and sense of unity have continued to grow even after the linguistic division. Nehru has been able to make even the khadiwallas, who are the protagonists of village self-sufficiency, realise that application of

science and modern technology is essential for the economic uplift of the country.

Nehru has recently launched upon a great experiment of decentralisation of power from the State authorities to the panchayats in the villages. This is going to lay a solid foundation for our edifice of democracy. New social changes and the underlying concepts supporting them, will, henceforth, be subject to the scrutiny of the democratic forces thus created, which alone can determine the shape of future policies in keeping with the high traditions of the country.

Since the time of Ashoka, India has never been so large an administrative unit, ruled by one centre and dominated by one central figure, as it is today. That central figure is Jawaharlal Nehru. He is the repository of our democratic inheritance. In the domain of philosophy India has known since time immemorial the highest freedom of thought. Here man has been viewed as the sole arbiter of his destiny, working his way to salvation and Godhood through his own efforts. This philosophy of man's individual grandeur is our greatest heritage. When the division of labour degenerated into the formation of *varnas,* high and low, great revolutionaries in social thinking like Mahavir and the Buddha emerged to regenerate democracy. In the political field too, India had a tradition of democracy, though it was largely of a regional type and though it was often eclipsed because it lacked the broad base of nationhood.

Today Nehru's democratic rule embraces 400 millions of people in different stages of material and spiritual advancement and open to influences from inside and outside. The task of making democracy a living force in the lives of these millions and at the same time securing their material prosperity is his unique privilege.

Democratic planning has to be distinguished from totalitarian planning. It has to inspire individual initiative, prevent wasteful channelisation of resources and create conditions for economic development through individual and cooperative efforts and also through the agency of the State with its

emphasis on collective endeavour. In substantial sectors, the State has already been accepted as the only instrument of economic and social activity. But planning should not result in substituting the State for the individual. Germany and Japan are fine examples of democratic planning. When policies which would enthuse people to work for the plan are not drawn up or their spirit is marred in the process of translating them into action planners and administrators blame democracy for their shortcomings and suggest tighter authoritarian controls. At times it seems as if Nehru would succumb to this suggestion, but democracy has such a hold on him that he can resist such pressure.

My first association with Nehru was when, fresh from college and being greatly enthusiastic about industrial development, he asked me to become a member of the Industrial Planning Committee established under his chairmanship by the Indian National Congress. In the course of many contacts with him I always found him extremely human, ever anxious to appreciate the view-point of others and ready to help.

Nehru is the flowering of the best of what India has inherited. He is also the embodiment of our future hopes and aspirations. May his leadership continue for many more years to guide India towards the realization of its cherished dreams.

I am grateful to the President of our Republic for writing a foreword to this Study and to the many distinguished statesmen and men of light and learning for honouring us with their contributions. I thank Mr. J. C. Jain, the General Manager, our staff and particularly the editor, Dr. Rafiq Zakaria, for the success of this project.

SHANTI PRASAD JAIN

Naini Tal,
15th October 1959.

Preface

A Study of Nehru, though issued on the occasion of his 70th birthday, is not a felicitation volume. It is a many-sided assessment of the man and his life. It is unusual both in its conception and in its content. Starting with a fairly long biographical sketch, which serves as a background to the succeeding sections, the book contains 62 contributions on various aspects of the Prime Minister's personality.

There are "Impressions and Reflections" of some of the most eminent world figures, who speak about Nehru from their personal contact with him. Then there are "Intimate Glimpses" of him by his relatives and friends. These are followed by "Appraisal and Analysis" of his work and achievement by many prominent public men, at home and abroad.

In the two succeeding sections a number of experts, both foreign and Indian, discuss and analyse Nehru's foreign and domestic policies. In "Facets and Aspects", which is primarily a non-political section, several people distinguished in different walks of life, throw light on his interest in literature, arts and culture, tribal people, religion, science, education and history.

The cartoons add a light touch to an otherwise serious study.

In the last two sections an attempt is made to present both a factual and a pictorial record of Nehru's crowded life. In arranging the different sections and articles some overlapping was inevitable. But the reader will appreciate that, by and large, they are based on a rational demarcation.

In acknowledging my deep gratitude to the President of our Republic and to the distinguished contributors, I must express my profound sorrow at the passing away of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and Mr. George Padmore after they favoured us with their valued contributions.

For sponsoring the project and giving me the opportunity of being associated with it, I am grateful to Mr. Shanti Prasad Jain, the Chairman of Bennett, Coleman & Co., Ltd.,

and to his brother and colleague on the Board of Directors, Mr. Shriyans Prasad Jain. My gratitude is all the more for the complete freedom they gave me in the choice of contributors and in the editorial work. This study could not have been completed in such a short time but for the initiative, dynamism and sustained interest shown by Mr. J. C. Jain, the General Manager of *The Times of India* and allied publications. I am specially thankful to him for his guidance, unstinted help and unflagging personal encouragement in the day-to-day progress of the project.

To Mr. K. C. Raman, the Production Manager, I am indebted for the technical excellence of the volume and the speed with which and the accomplished manner in which it was produced despite many delays and handicaps. Finally I must acknowledge the considerable assistance of Mr. T. K. Seshadri, a member of the Editorial Staff of *The Times of India.* I am grateful to him for his valuable suggestions at every stage.

My thanks are also due to the Press Information Bureau and the Films Division of the Government of India for lending some valuable photographs. Also to Karsh of Ottawa for the photograph appearing on the jacket and to Baron for the frontispiece.

RAFIQ ZAKARIA

Bombay,
October 22, 1959.

Preface to Second Revised Edition

The first edition was prepared in great hurry as it was to be published on Nehru's seventieth birthday. As a result some errors crept in the text of some of the articles and captions. These have now been corrected. I am grateful to my many friends, particularly Mr. Shamlal, for their help and co-operation in this task.

RAFIQ ZAKARIA

Bombay,
December 5, 1959.

Contributors to the Book

JOSIP BROZ TITO, President of Yugoslavia since January, 1953 and the architect of his people's victory over Nazism; a leading advocate of neutrality and co-existence between the Western and Eastern Powers.

GAMAL ABDEL NASSER, President of the United Arab Republic; the leader of the military revolution which ended the monarchy in Egypt in June, 1952.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN, Vice-President of India since 1952; a distinguished philosopher-statesman, author and diplomat.

ABDUL KARIM KASSIM, Prime Minister of Iraq and organiser of the military revolution which ended the monarchy in 1958.

KWAME NKRUMAH, Prime Minister of Ghana, first African colony to be free, since March, 1957; author of works in history and philosophy.

LEE KUAN YEW, Prime Minister of free Singapore since 1958; a founder of the socialist movement in the former British colony.

LUDWIG ERHARD, Minister for Economic Affairs in the Federal Republic of Germany; a distinguished economist and authority on currency reform.

U NU, a former Prime Minister of Burma; author of many plays, novels and serious works.

S. W. R. D. BANDARANAIKE, Prime Minister of Ceylon until his death on September 26; a champion of socialist planning at home and non-alignment in foreign affairs.

LORD ATTLEE, one of the leading figures in the British socialist movement and Prime Minister of the Labour Government in the United Kingdom at the time of India's independence.

LORD MOUNTBATTEN, Chief of the British Defence Staff since July, 1959; British Viceroy at the time of transfer of power and first Governor-General of the Dominion of India.

LORD PETHICK-LAWRENCE, Secretary of State for India in the British Labour Government, which negotiated the transfer of power with Indian leaders in 1946 and 1947; a respected figure in British public life.

ADLAI STEVENSON, Democratic candidate for the American Presidency in 1952 and 1956; a well-known lawyer, politician and author.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, widow of the famous American President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt; a distinguished columnist, author and social worker.

SHUKRI AL-KUWATLY, President of Syria from 1955 to the time when Syria was integrated with Egypt to form the United Arab Republic; one of the pioneers of the Pan-Arabic movement.

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court since 1939; an eminent jurist.

VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT, Indian diplomat and a former President of the United Nations General Assembly; sister of Jawaharlal Nehru.

KRISHNA HUTHEESING, author; sister of Jawaharlal Nehru.

NAYANTARA SEHGAL, novelist; niece of Jawaharlal Nehru.

B. C. ROY, Chief Minister of West Bengal; one of the leading figures of the Indian national movement.

LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI, India's Minister for Commerce and Industry; a close associate of Nehru.

AMRIT KAUR, a former Health Minister of India and a trusted disciple of Gandhiji.

SYED MAHMUD, a former Minister in India's Ministry of External Affairs; a long-standing friend of the Nehru family.

ARTHUR MOORE, a well-known journalist and former editor of *The Statesman*, Calcutta, and a prominent member of the old Central Legislative Assembly during the British rule.

H. V. R. IENGAR, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India; Principal Private Secretary to Nehru at the time of partition and later Secretary to his Cabinet.

PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA, official historian of the Indian National Congress; a former Congress President and for some time Governor of Madhya Pradesh.

LORD BOYD ORR, Nobel Peace Prize winner; a former Director-General of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation.

EDWARD ATIYAH, a leading Arab intellectual and author.

GEORGE PADMORE, a well-known journalist and Adviser to the Prime Minister of Ghana on African problems until his death this year.

Y. B. CHAVAN, Chief Minister of Bombay State since November, 1956.

N. C. CHATTERJEE, a leader of the Bar in India and a former opposition leader in the Lok Sabha; an ex-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha.

HOMI MODY, a leading industrialist and a former Governor of Nehru's home State, Uttar Pradesh.

N. B. KHARE, a former Congress Premier of Central Provinces, and since independence, an outspoken critic of Nehru's policies.

E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD, Marxist theoretician and the former Communist Chief Minister of the State of Kerala.

M. C. CHAGLA, Indian Ambassador in Washington since 1958; a distinguished jurist and a former Chief Justice of Bombay High Court.

CHARLES MALIK, President of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1958–1959; diplomat and a former Foreign Minister of the Lebanon.

BERTRAND RUSSELL, a distinguished philosopher; winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature.

ILYA EHRENBURG, a well-known Soviet journalist and author of international repute.

HIREN MUKERJEE, one of the leading lights of the Indian Communist movement and a prominent member of the Lok Sabha.

A. D. GORWALA, a former Civil Servant and an expert in public administration; now a writer on current affairs.

BASIL DAVIDSON, a prominent British journalist and an expert on African affairs.

SIR FRANCIS LOW, a noted journalist; a former editor of *The Times of India*, Bombay.

U. N. DHEBAR, a former Congress President and for some time Chief Minister of Saurashtra.

A. D. SHROFF, a well-known industrialist attached to the House of Tatas; and economist.

ASOKA MEHTA, Praja-Socialist Party leader and one of the leading intellectuals of the socialist movement in India.

S. A. DANGE, a leading trade unionist and leader of the Communist group in the Lok Sabha.

V. K. R. V. RAO, Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University; a distinguished economist.

P. C. MAHALANOBIS, Honorary Statistical Adviser to the Government of India; author of the framework of India's Five-Year Plans.

SRI PRAKASA, Governor of Bombay State; a former parliamentarian and a close associate of Nehru.

SAMPURNANAND, Chief Minister of Nehru's home State, Uttar Pradesh.

VINCENT SHEEAN, a well-known American roving correspondent, columnist and author.

VERRIER ELWIN, a scholar and anthropologist; Adviser to the Government of India on NEFA tribal problems.

MULK RAJ ANAND, a distinguished novelist and art critic; editor of *Marg*.

K. N. KATJU, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh; a former Defence Minister of India.

KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA, a former Congress and Socialist leader; one of the pioneers of the theatre movement in India.

HUMAYUN KABIR, India's Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Relations; a well-known writer and educationist.

MEHR CHAND MAHAJAN, an eminent jurist and a former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India.

K. G. SAIYIDAIN, a distinguished educationist and Secretary to India's Ministry of Education.

SHRIYANS PRASAD JAIN, a leading industrialist; a member of the Rajya Sabha, 1952–58.

K. M. PANIKKAR, Indian diplomat; historian and author of international repute.

KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ, a prominent business man closely connected with the Gandhian movement; a member of the Lok Sabha.

R. K. LAXMAN, a well-known cartoonist attached to *The Times of India*.

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AN ESSAY IN BIOGRAPHY

A biographical account of Nehru, tracing the progress of his many-splendoured life before and after independence, is given in this section. It is primarily meant to be a rapid background study to facilitate an intelligent appreciation of the succeeding sections which dissect and evaluate Nehru's life and work from one perspective or the other.

Rafiq Zakaria

A Many-Splendoured Life

In 1929 when Jawaharlal Nehru was rising in all his youthful splendour as the new star in the political firmament of India, Gandhiji, whose word was law unto his people, spoke of him thus: "He is as pure as crystal; he is truthful beyond suspicion. He is a knight *sans peur, sans reproche*. The nation is safe in his hands." Since then Nehru has received—as he himself has admitted—in abundance and extravagance the love of his countrymen. They have idolised him; they have worshipped him. Even in the inaccessible tribal areas, his name is a household word; to the illiterate villagers he has become almost a god. To most Indians he has symbolised everything that is good and noble and beautiful in life. Even his faults are admirable; his weaknesses, lovable. In a land of hero-worship he has become the hero of heroes. To criticise him is wrong; to condemn him is blasphemous. In the days of the struggle against the British, he was the arch-rebel who inspired the people; in his role now as Prime Minister he is the embodiment of their hopes and aspirations. They may be dissatisfied with his party; they may be unhappy under his Government, but such is their devotion to the man that he is not blamed for anything. He must remain above reproach. Like the Pope in the middle ages, Nehru has become infallible:

O! he sits high in all the people's heart:
And that which would appear offence in us,
His countenance, like richest alchymy,
Will change to virtue and to worthiness.

I — EARLY CHILDHOOD

Even in his birth which took place at Allahabad near the Chowk, in quarters known as Mirganj, on November 14, 1889, Jawaharlal was most fortunate. His father was Motilal, a Kashmiri Brahmin with a Roman appearance, and his mother, Swaruprani, a gentle and noble lady steeped in the best Hindu traditions. They gave him not only their affection in plenty—he was "Nanhe" or the "little one" to them—but also an aristocratic training with the latest Western stamp. As a leader of the Bar, Motilal had all the wealth at his command; as a friend of the British officials, he was familiar with their style of living. In the result, he was anxious to bring up his son as a gentleman in the then accepted sense of the word. He was so particular about it that he did not like to spoil Jawaharlal by sending him to a local school. He, therefore, entrusted his training exclusively to the care of European governesses and later to European tutors. From his childhood, therefore, Jawaharlal had the best of both riches and the new culture. He was born in luxury and bred in affluence.

When Jawaharlal was about ten, Motilal moved into a palatial house on Church Road near the University which he named "Anand Bhawan"; it had a huge garden, two beautiful swimming pools and all the amenities and comforts of modern life. In its luxurious setting Jawaharlal found amusement; his pastimes were swimming, horse-riding, cricket, etc. However, being the only child—his sister, Vijayalakshmi was born when he was eleven—the new residence did not diminish his loneliness. There were no companions of his age to play with him and therefore the bigness of the house made him feel still more lonely. Then there was the patriarchal shadow of his father, affectionate but domineering, awe-inspiring but still grand to look at, which enveloped his life. He did not have to ask for anything. He was a spoilt child. Nor was he ever required to decide anything; decisions for him were made by his father and he had no reason to complain against them. That is why even in later years when Jawaharlal became

a leader and almost lived with millions of his people he could not shed his loneliness, or his vacillation. Today also he remains a lonely man, often hesitant and rather indecisive.

Of his many friends who used to visit their house frequently in those days the nearest to the family was the late Tej Bahadur Sapru; he was like a little uncle to him and though both of them later plunged into politics taking different paths, their affection for each other remained unchanged. From his death-bed on December 2, 1948 Sapru wrote to Nehru: "....I must be prepared for the end soon. I must bless my stars that I have seen the freedom of India with you at the helm."

Of the early confidants of his father, Munshi Mubarak Ali was closest to Jawaharlal. He was, to use Nehru's own words, a "sure haven of refuge whenever I was unhappy or in trouble". The Munshi amused the boy by telling him stories and playing pranks with him; he, however, had no hold over him. The real influence on Jawaharlal during this very formative period was of his Irish tutor, the youthful Ferdinand T. Brooks who was a theosophist and a disciple of Annie Besant who had recommended him for the job to Motilal. For nearly three years until Jawaharlal sailed for England with his father, Brooks taught him at "Anand Bhawan" and laid the foundation of his future make-up. In his outlook on life, however, the teacher was more a Hindu than a Westerner; he believed in plain living and high thinking, was a strict vegetarian and rarely touched alcohol.

In particular Brooks inculcated in Jawaharlal a love of reading; the young disciple found great delight in books by Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, Wells and Mark Twain, and also in the Kipling and Sherlock Holmes stories and the fables of Lewis Carrol. Brooks also developed in him a love for poetry. Furthermore, Jawaharlal used to be thrilled by the mysteries of science and spent many hours with Brooks in a laboratory that they had managed to set up in "Anand Bhawan".

Because of Brooks, Jawaharlal also became interested in theosophy and made some study of religion including Hindu mythological tales and their inner significance. He was

initiated into the Theosophical Society by Mrs. Besant personally, but Jawaharlal was attracted to her by her silver-tongued oratory more than by her theosophical mission. He loved to hear her at public meetings and became almost enamoured of her charm and brilliance. Intellectually, she exercised—perhaps more than his father—a most domineering influence on Jawaharlal. Otherwise it was under the grand umbrella of Motilal with all his pride, imperiousness, grandeur and even ferocious temper that Jawaharlal grew up. His mother, who was a poem in self-effacement, provided a feminine and consequently a softer touch, but the hand that cast the boy was that of the father with the result that the attachment between the two was always deep and strong, and survived all the political differences that later arose between them.

II — HARROW, CAMBRIDGE AND LONDON

For Motilal, who almost doted on Jawaharlal, his son's future was of great concern; he had made up his mind to put him in an exclusive British public school and after long deliberation, he decided upon Harrow and through his influential English friends was able to get his son admitted there. Accordingly, when Jawaharlal was hardly fifteen, his father took him to England and personally put him at Harrow. For two years the boy remained in the school, but made no particular mark there. Quiet and reserved by nature, he took little part in extra-curricular activities except for sports and enlisting in the volunteer corps. Sometimes he indulged in rowing and occasionally went mountaineering. Otherwise by his own admission "he was never an exact fit" at Harrow. In his studies, however, he did not lag behind and once or twice even topped his form, for which he received prizes. One such prize was Trevelyan's biography of Garibaldi. He read it and was much impressed by the Italian hero's deeds. As he later wrote in his *Autobiography* "visions of similar deeds in India came before me, of a gallant fight for freedom". At Harrow he took some interest in British politics, but was more interested in aviation, which had just then caught the world's imagination. In fact, he was

so thrilled by it that he dreamt of paying soon a week-end visit to India by air. Perhaps his love of air journeys, which he has made so often and so widely throughout the world, dates back from that time. Though at Harrow his contemporaries included scions of many distinguished English families, he did not develop any personal friendship with them. He remained aloof and confined himself to his own work. Though Jawaharlal retains some love for the institution, it is doubtful whether he really imbibed the so-called Harrow spirit or cared much about it in later life.

In the autumn of 1907 Jawaharlal went to Trinity College, Cambridge, which in the 19th century and earlier was regarded as the training ground for British Prime Ministers. He took natural science tripos, though in second class, and studied chemistry, geology and botany. In Cambridge, however, he came out of his shell a little and read books on literature and politics. He was particularly impressed by the Fabians and took pains to understand modern economic theories. He became familiar with socialism, but was not particularly drawn to it then. His political thinking, if any, was essentially nationalist—more Tilakite than Gandhian in its approach. Racialism created far greater resentment in him than the plight of the underdog.

From Cambridge Jawaharlal moved to London and joined the Inner Temple to qualify for the Bar. At first there was some talk of his competing for the Indian Civil Service, but it was soon abandoned. Motilal wanted his son to be a barrister and to succeed to his lucrative practice; he did not like the idea of employment, even if it were in the imperial service.

In London Jawaharlal found enough leisure; the law studies did not entail much work; and there were so many attractions to occupy his time. He had ample allowances; he could always get more if he wanted. He ate well; he dressed well; his clothes were tailored in Bond Street; he frequented the best of places; he moved in aristocratic circles; he visited social clubs and saw plays and ballets. To quote his own words, "I enjoyed life and I refused to see why I should consider it a thing of sin."

He was attracted by a kind of cyrenaicism — "the desire for a soft life and pleasant experiences" — partly because of his youth and partly, as he has revealed, because of "the influence of Oscar Wilde and Walter Pater".

Hence by the time Nehru had qualified for the Bar in the summer of 1912, he had become a typical British public school product — handsome and elegant to look at, gay and carefree in his attitude, polished and urbane in his manner albeit a little snobbish towards those whom he considered socially his inferiors. As at Cambridge so also in London he participated neither in debates nor in other student activities; even from the Indian Majlis he kept himself aloof. The summer holidays he spent in touring other parts of Europe, where he moved like a prince, from place to place, motoring, ski-ing, and sight-seeing. Life to him — then as now, though in a different context — was an adventure of absorbing interest, where there was so much to be done, so much to be seen.

At last after a stay of seven long years Jawaharlal returned to India in August 1912. In between he had no doubt visited his parents twice—once in 1906 and again in 1908. Even while returning finally he did not entertain the idea of either entering politics or leading the kind of life the future held for him. As he himself disclosed during his first trial in 1921: "Less than ten years ago, I returned from England after a lengthy stay there. I had passed through the usual course of public school and university. I had imbibed most of the prejudices of Harrow and Cambridge and in my likes and dislikes I was perhaps more an Englishman than an Indian. I looked upon the world almost from an Englishman's standpoint. And so I returned to India as much prejudiced in favour of England and the English as it was possible for an Indian to be."

III — AT THE BAR AND MARRIAGE

The India to which Nehru returned was somewhat different from the one he had left behind seven years earlier. There was the aftermath of the Bengal "anti-partition" agitation

and the fight between the moderates and extremists in the Congress. Then there was the excitement among the rich and educated about the Minto-Morley Reforms. These developments, however trivial they may look in retrospect, were important enough then and must have made some impact on Jawaharlal's mind. Though brought up in the British tradition or rather because of it he hated the racial superiority displayed by the British in India. Their overlordship created a sense of resentment in him. Also, his father had begun to take part in politics by joining the moderates with the result that Jawaharlal could not keep himself completely aloof from it. Nevertheless he took the legal profession seriously and devoted much time to it so that he could make his mark at the bar. He joined his father's chambers and studied his cases, ransacking the law for him, and going through all the plodding, which is the lot of a junior. Somehow he was not able to make much of an impression; whether it was due to his own deficiencies or the overpowering personality of Motilal who was then the unchallenged leader of the bar or whether he found the atmosphere as he put it "not intellectually stimulating", the bar did not satisfy him. He found it dull, drab and almost lifeless. Gradually he began to find an outlet in politics and like most educated Indians of those days indulged in arm-chair discussions on current affairs. He had already attended the Bankipore session of the Congress as a delegate but he found nothing interesting or invigorating in its deliberations. The following year he joined the U.P. Congress Committee, but in its activities he hardly took any part. For some time he was attracted to Gokhale's Servants of India Society, but he hesitated to join it, because it specialised more in a kind of missionary work which did not have much attraction for him. Because of his father, Jawaharlal received public attention wherever he went, but he was still so shy and reserved that he kept to himself. In fact, it was in 1915 at a public meeting in Allahabad that he made his maiden speech. This came as a pleasant surprise to Sapru, who was present at the meeting; immediately after the speech he rushed to the

platform and kissed Jawaharlal openly. In 1917, however, more because of the Home Rule agitation unleashed by Tilak and Mrs. Besant, Jawaharlal was awakened to the realities of the Indian situation and started thinking seriously about them. Moreover, Mrs. Besant always exercised almost a hypnotic influence on Jawaharlal. He admired her bold and fearless revolt against the British; in particular, her arrest in 1917 moved him greatly.

Meanwhile, life at "Anand Bhawan" went on in the usual luxurious manner. Apart from his father there was his mother, ever proud of her young son; and his two sisters—Vijayalakshmi and Krishna, growing ever more fond of their elder brother, who was an embodiment of grace and charm. For some years his parents had been on the lookout for a suitable bride for Jawaharlal, but it was not until he was twenty-six that they finally decided upon Kamala Kaul, the daughter of a well-known Kashmiri business man belonging to the same Brahmin sub-caste. The girl was hardly seventeen then and like a doll — demure, slim and tender. The parents were much impressed by her; and so they selected her for their son and on February 8, 1916, Jawaharlal was married at Delhi in a lavish and grand manner, the like of which even the capital had not seen before.

IV — PLUNGE INTO POLITICS

Though interested in politics, Nehru's plunge into it was a rather reluctant one; it was more the circumstance than any personal urge that brought him into public life. True, as a member of the bar he indulged in political discussions; as a sensitive Indian he resented the rule of the British and did not like the idea of being considered a slave to them. But action rather than talk appealed to him; that was why Gandhiji's struggle in South Africa evoked more interest in him than the Congress proceedings.

It was for the first time in 1915, as a result of the formation of a Kisan Sabha by Madan Mohan Malaviya with the object of ameliorating the plight of the peasantry in

the U.P., that he became somewhat active and started thinking seriously of political work. The same year, in the last week of December, he met Mahatma Gandhi at the Lucknow Congress, but their meeting was casual and did not produce any particular effect on Jawaharlal's mind though even at that time he had developed some respect for the Mahatma's sincerity and boldness, if not for his orthodox approach or appearance. It was the kisan movement which began to engage more and more Jawaharlal's attention as he slowly took to public activities. In 1918 he became the Vice-President of the Kisan Sabha and toured Oudh exhorting peasants to fight for their rights and for the betterment of their lot. As a result of his contacts with them his outlook on life as also his whole mode of living changed. He discarded wearing suits and started putting on *achkan*. He gave up moving in cars and went walking to villages, sometimes even barefooted. He gave up European food and ate with the farmers whatever they cooked and gave him. He spent several nights in their huts and did not mind sharing his life with them. This was too sudden and too much of a transformation in Jawaharlal for the liking of his father who was still too attached to the Western style of living. He did not mind his son's participation in the kisan movement, but he was opposed to such a complete identification with their rustic lot. He, therefore, argued with his son and tried to persuade him to take a more constitutional attitude, but the son had seen too much poverty and misery to be satisfied with that kind of approach. He wanted action. He had, therefore, no interest in the controversies between the moderates and the extremists or the differences between the Hindus and the Muslims. At the Lucknow session of the Congress in 1916 he was, no doubt, a witness to a *rapprochement* between the Congress and the League, but it left no impress on his mind.

It was then that Gandhiji entered the political scene and gave a new call to his people. He did not talk of submission or loyalty, but of assertion of people's rights. Jawaharlal liked his politics. There was a call for action in it, an emphasis on

shedding of fear and braving troubles. Gandhiji wanted to fight first for the vital needs of the poor and said that all the graces and ornaments of life would follow thereafter. For India's toiling millions his message was one of "eternal vigil"; he declared that his mission was to wipe away every tear from every eye. To such a message Jawaharlal could not fail to respond and hence in spite of the initial opposition of his father who dreaded the idea of his son languishing in a British jail, Jawaharlal plunged heart and soul into the non-cooperation movement launched by Gandhiji. Those were the days of protest against the Rowlatt Acts; and Nehru took full part in organising India-wide hartals on April 6, 1919. These resulted, however, in the notorious Jallianwala Baugh massacres in Amritsar a week later and horrors of martial law administration in the Punjab. Nehru was horrified at these developments and began to identify himself more and more with the movement. Under his pressure, even Motilal relented and gave up his lucrative practice. In the inquiry committee that the Congress set up into these tragedies not only Jawaharlal but Motilal and C. R. Das took active part.

On account of what Jawaharlal had seen in the Punjab and heard from the people, he was determined to fight the British and to end the slavery and disgrace of his people. He was young; he was sensitive; and he had become politically alive. To him the fight represented an ideal; and he was prepared to die for it. Moreover, he was attracted by the method of that fight. As he put it, "The idea of non-cooperation is simple enough, clear to the meanest intellect, but none the less few of us had realised it, excepting partly during the Bengal partition days, till the Mahatma issued his call to action. Evil flourishes only because we tolerate and assist it; the most despotic and tyrannical government can only carry on because the people it governs themselves submit to it. England holds India in bondage because Indians co-operate with the Englishmen and thereby strengthen British rule. Withdraw that co-operation and the fabric of foreign rule collapses." In the result Nehru went the whole hog in making

a success of Gandhiji's new movement which consisted primarily in shedding fear of the British by picketing liquor shops, giving up the use of foreign goods specially cloth, renouncing British titles and awards and even boycotting courts, colleges and schools. It was a novel method of non-cooperation. But to Nehru's mind, it was more than a plan for action; there was a touch of romantic dynamism about it. However, as the movement was in full swing an incident occurred in Chauri Chaura in the district of Gorakhpur in Nehru's home province in February 1922 when an infuriated mob set fire to some police chowkies and burnt twenty-one policemen including an inspector; this upset the apostle of non-violence so much that he called off the struggle. For Jawaharlal it was too much. He became not only angry with Gandhiji but almost furious. He was in jail at that time having been arrested earlier and imprisoned for six months. He did not know what to do. Frustrated and depressed, he wrote to Gandhiji and gave him a piece of his mind. Gandhiji, however, was unrepentant. To him, non-violence was a creed; he, therefore, could not countenance any exhibition of violence by his people. For Nehru it was a matter of expediency. He used non-violence because it suited the peculiar conditions in India; he was not prepared to sacrifice freedom at its altar. On his release Nehru found awaiting him a different world than what he had left behind. There was frustration and dissatisfaction everywhere. More than 3,000 people languished in jails, and many more had braved lathi charges and given up their schools, colleges and professions. But what was the result? The British grip on the people had become tighter and there was little hope of an immediate revolt. Early in 1924, Mahatma Gandhi was convalescing at Juhu after a serious illness. Nehru accompanied by his father had several talks with him. He, however, returned more hopeless and despaired of the future.

V — HINDU-MUSLIM TENSION

There was another development which troubled him greatly at this time: the worsening of Hindu-Muslim relations. Against

the background of unity that was brought about by Gandhiji and the Ali Brothers during the non-cooperation and Khilafat movements, it was heart-breaking to see communal riots sully different parts of the country. First came the tragic Moplah riots of 1920 and then similar outbreaks in such towns as Delhi, Nagpur, Lucknow, Shahjahanpur, Allahabad and Jabalpur—most of them in Nehru's home province of the U.P. In 1924 the tragedy reached its peak at Kohat in the North-West Frontier Province, where more than a hundred persons were killed. In a desperate effort to stem the tide of communal hatred Gandhiji embarked on an almost perilous fast of twenty-one days. It resulted in a unity conference and eased the tension to some extent, but Jawaharlal was not much impressed by these sentimental efforts. He looked at the problem rationally and in its economic context; he was anxious that the Congress leadership should also tackle it accordingly. His proved to be a voice in the wilderness and found little support even among his colleagues. The communal situation did not necessarily deteriorate but it never really improved; in fact, until the British left, Hindu-Muslim conflict became a regular feature of Indian life. In a letter to his friend, Syed Mahmud, who later became a minister in his Cabinet, Nehru poured out his heart, "I do not attach much importance to political squabbles, but the communal frenzy is awful to contemplate. We seem to have been caught in a whirlpool of mutual hatred and we go round and round and down and down this abyss." Nehru developed a hatred for religion and declared that religion had become like "the old man of the sea for us"; it had not only "broken our backs but stultified and almost killed all originality of thought and mind". He was convinced that unless India got rid of "this terrible burden", it could not "breathe freely or do anything useful". In this he made no distinction between the "legitimate" and "illegitimate" offspring of religion. To Lenin religion might have been "the opium of people"; to Nehru it was just poison.

Depressed and frustrated at the turn of events Nehru found some solace in municipal affairs. In 1923 he was elected Chairman of the Allahabad Municipality and he approached

his work with vigour and enthusiasm. He became the General Secretary of the Congress and busied himself with organisational matters; he continued in that position until the end of the presidentship of Gandhiji in 1925. After a two-year recess, he was again persuaded to take it up in 1927 and remained as the General Secretary until 1929 when he was elected the Congress President for the first time. The municipal experience was not pleasant, but it proved instructive and gave Nehru a peep into the working of administration; it was there that the foundation of his future role as an administrator was laid.

Though the relations between Nehru and Gandhiji at that time were rather strained because of the difference in their outlook and approach, it did not bring him politically nearer to his father and C. R. Das, who advocated constitutional agitation. The fight between the "pro-changers" and "no-changers", as the cooperators and non-cooperators were called, was at its height then, but the younger Nehru found no interest in it, nor was he enamoured of fighting the British in the council chambers as his father was. He kept aloof from these controversies. His father also never pressed him to take any part in the Swaraj Party which he along with Das had organised as a group within the Congress.

For his part, Jawaharlal had enough organisational work on hand; and he occupied himself with it. In 1924 Mohammed Ali became the President of the Kakinada session and though Jawaharlal was not eager to continue as the General Secretary, the President-elect forced him to do so. The Maulana remarked, "It is just because some members of the Working Committee distrust and dislike your presence as Secretary that I like it." The two got on very well despite their difference in approach, particularly to religious beliefs.

As Jawaharlal became less involved in political activity, he found a little more time to devote to his family affairs. Twenty-one months after his marriage, his only child Indira was born, but Kamala became weak and developed an infection of tuberculosis which troubled her greatly in the following years and eventually took her life. In 1925 Kamala's condition

suddenly became serious and she had to be kept for months in a hospital in Lucknow. Jawaharlal was much disturbed and spent many an hour with his ailing wife. Her health did not improve and ultimately on the advice of his friend Dr. M. A. Ansari, who later became Congress President, Jawaharlal decided to take her to Switzerland for treatment. In March, 1926 Jawaharlal with Kamala and their eight-year-old daughter, Indira, sailed from Bombay for Switzerland via Venice

VI — TRIP TO EUROPE

Accompanying them during their trip to Europe, were his sister Vijayalakshmi and her husband, Ranjit Pandit. Later, Jawaharlal's second sister, Krishna, also joined them. Nehru intended to stay in Europe for six or seven months, but as there was little improvement in Kamala's health he had to delay his return until December 1927. However, this long sojourn in the West had a tremendous effect on his mind. It widened his horizon and broadened his vision. As the late Narendra Deva testified, "....it is definite that he came decisively under the impact of socialism during his sojourn in Europe in 1926-27". Though holidaying, he utilised the period for a serious study of political and economic problems. Mostly, he remained in Switzerland because of Kamala, but he visited France, England, Belgium, Holland, Germany and lastly the Soviet Union as well. In Brussels he represented the Congress at the anti-imperialist Congress of Oppressed Nationalities held in February, 1927 and made valuable contacts there; these were of great benefit to him. In their company he found a new vigour and hope. In one of her letters to Nehru in Europe, Sarojini Naidu rejoiced "that your soul has found its chance to renew its youth and glory".

Of the interesting people he met in Europe, two stood out: one was Romain Rolland, the biographer of Gandhiji, and the other was Ernst Toller for whom Nehru developed almost personal attachment. For the Moscow visit Jawaharlal persuaded his father, who had by then joined the family in Europe, to accompany them. They participated as official guests in the

tenth anniversary celebrations of the Bolshevik Revolution. On their arrival in the Soviet Union they were given a great welcome; they missed the mammoth parade in the Red Square but, otherwise, they had a full programme. Though Nehru and his father visited only Moscow and were there for about four days, the visit had a great impact on Jawaharlal. He became more sympathetic to the Soviet Union, more understanding of the role of the communists and keen on developing Indo-Soviet friendship. On his return he wrote articles in the form of "random sketches and impressions" of the Soviet society for the Indian press, which showed his deep sympathy and even affection for the Russians. As he told his countrymen, "The contrasts between extreme luxury and poverty are not visible, nor does one notice the hierarchy of class or caste" in the Soviet Union. In particular, he was impressed by the simplicity of the life of Soviet officials and members of the Communist Party and by their campaign to eradicate illiteracy and poverty and their jail reforms. He also admired the manner in which they had tried to solve their minorities problem. As he put it, "It is difficult to draw any final conclusions about anything Russian at this stage but it would certainly appear from the progress made in the last five years that the problem of minorities has been largely solved there." He applauded their efforts to establish equality between the sexes. Lenin was no more but in the well-known mausoleum he found in his remains "a strange beauty", even his eyebrow looked "peaceful and unclouded". Nehru's tribute to the Soviet leader was unequivocal. To quote his words, "By an amazing power of will he hypnotised a nation and filled a disunited and demoralised people with energy and determination and the strength to endure and suffer for a cause." He was also clear about Indo-Soviet relations. He emphasised, "Russia again cannot be ignored by us because she is our neighbour, a powerful neighbour, which may be friendly to us and co-operate with us or may be a thorn in our side. In either event we have to know her and understand her to shape our policy accordingly."

As Kamala's health improved, Jawaharlal was anxious to return. He sailed for India, but this time he came back not so much a nationalist as a socialist determined to give a new content and meaning to Indian nationalism, as much economic as political.

VII — SOCIALIST TREND

From Europe Nehru returned via Colombo in time to and from there to attend the Congress session in Madras. He took full part in its deliberations and sponsored many resolutions, particularly on foreign affairs; from then on, he emerged as the Congress spokesman on international developments and in his voice there was a new direction. Moreover, he committed the Congress to the goal of "complete national independence", by making it pass a resolution to that effect. Gandhiji was not present when this happened, but when he came to know of it, he rebuked Nehru. He thought that "the Congress stultified itself by repeating year after year resolutions of this character when it knows that it is not capable of carrying them into effect. By passing such resolutions we make an exhibition of our impotence. We have almost sunk to the level of a school boys' debating society." Gandhiji was also disturbed by the violent tone of Nehru's radicalism; he told him so in several letters, and sometimes even publicly.

Jawaharlal, however, did not give in easily. He was too full of the new ideas that he had imbibed during his European tour and impatient to put them in practice. Gandhiji realised this and moaned, "Differences between you and me appear to be so vast and so radical that there seems to be no meeting ground between us. I cannot conceal from you my grief that I will lose a comrade so valiant, so faithful, so able and so honest that you always have been; but in serving a cause comradeships have got to be sacrificed." But despite these differences there was no break between the two; as usual, adjustments were made and the master brought the erring disciple round.

After the Congress session Nehru made a country-wide tour addressing hundreds of meetings and presiding over several provincial conferences. Because of his emphasis on socialism he also came nearer to labour and was elected, almost without his knowledge, President of the All-India Trade Union Congress. So far he had aligned himself with the peasants; now the workers also looked to him for a lead. He was able to give a new content to the national struggle, which was both radical and socialistic. He emphasised that the fight against the British was not only political but economic. From the youth, whose unchallenged leader he became, he demanded action. He sought for "the dynamic element" in Indian revolution, and made no secret of the fact that it was "the function of the youth to supply it".

Nehru could not have found a better time to propagate his new ideas. India was in ferment; labour was restless; and the peasantry was discontented. Specially in Bardoli, a district in Gujarat, the situation due to enhancement of land tax had become tense. The people were angry and to give their wrath a forceful direction there appeared on the scene—Vallabhbhai Patel, who later became the "Sardar" of the Congress and a co-architect with Nehru of India's freedom. Patel organised with Gandhiji's blessing satyagraha against the Government in Bardoli; the Government, on its part, retaliated with mass arrests and wholesale confiscation of lands. Patel did not budge. He asked his supporters not to worry, reminding them that the British could not take their land with them to Britain. The heroic struggle in Bardoli had its repercussions on other parts and even in the U. P., where the Congress was anxious to avoid a clash between peasants and zamindars, the tillers showed a new awakening.

In the field of labour also the position was no better; there were strikes and lockouts in many industrial centres. Trouble was in the air everywhere and it reached its climax at the time of the historic Meerut trials. Nehru raised funds and personally arranged for the defence of the accused, most of whom were members of the Communist Party and at the helm of the new

movement among the workers. There was violence; British officers were murdered; trains carrying British dignitaries were derailed. Terrorism was used for gaining freedom and Bhagat Singh became a hero. All in all, India was on the verge of a revolution, essentially a non-violent mass upsurge besmirched by sporadic violence.

Such was the atmosphere when the Simon Commission arrived to study the political conditions in India and to suggest constitutional remedies. It was an all-British commission; wherever it went it was greeted with black flags and boycotted. Processions and hartals became the order of the day. There was total non-cooperation and it gave a new fillip to the national movement. Further, it was while leading one such procession that the Punjab Congress leader, Lala Lajpat Rai, was severely beaten by the police; within a week he succumbed to his injuries and died in a hospital. Nehru was horrified. If this could happen to one of India's foremost leaders, he asked, what security was there for others. He himself led a procession in Lucknow and received, as he admitted, "a tremendous hammering" at the hands of the police. "I felt half blind with the blows," he explained.

Meanwhile, efforts were being made for a *rapprochement* between the Hindus and the Muslims, which finally led to an All-Parties Conference in August that year, attended by the delegates of both the Muslim League and the Congress, already gathered in Lucknow for their respective annual sessions. After long deliberations the "Nehru Report" was signed, named after Motilal, the motive force behind it. Jawaharlal did not bother much about it, nor did he show any enthusiasm for it. He was particularly peeved at its adherence to the goal of "dominion status". To Gandhiji, Jawaharlal's deflection began to cause concern. He was conscious of the latter's growing hold on the people, specially the younger generation. He was also anxious to allow Jawaharlal to play his natural role; nevertheless the Mahatma wanted him to be tempered and, therefore, suggested his name for the next Congress presidentship in supersession

of his own and Patel's nomination. Furthermore, the one-year deadline given to the British for declaring India a dominion was also to end by then, and there could be no better person to herald the call of *Purna Swaraj* or "complete independence".

The British did not remain quiet. The new Viceroy, Lord Irwin (later Halifax) was too alarmed about people's upsurge to ignore it. He pressed London to re-affirm India's goal as that of "dominion status" and to take steps to sponsor a Round Table Conference of British and Indian leaders, to draft a constitution. This was a clever move and it succeeded to some extent in diverting the current of popular reaction. At first, Nehru under pressure from his elders welcomed the move; later he realised the full implications of the Viceregal statement and retraced his step. He even resigned along with Subhas Bose from the Congress Working Committee. At that time Sapru and Jayakar, two Liberal leaders, who were to play a prominent mediatory role between the Congress and the Government, came on the scene and tried to heal the breach. It took several months but their efforts culminated in the famous Gandhi-Irwin Pact, under which the Congress agreed to participate in the Round Table Conference, and the British, in return, made several concessions to the Congress including the release of political prisoners and the restoration of confiscated land. Nehru did not like the Pact; he thought it almost humiliating but as Congress President he reluctantly accepted it. He did not have the heart to break away from Gandhiji and his elders but neither did he make any secret of his dislike of their approach and methods. He was torn between the two forces, tossed in a sea-saw struggle between them. In such a mood of hesitancy and uncertainty he accepted the leadership from his father and embarked on his presidential task, determined to give a more revolutionary and radical turn to the affairs of the Congress.

VIII — CONGRESS PRESIDENTSHIP

At Lahore in 1929 Nehru as well as the Congress came of age. The historic session ushered in a new era—an era which

gave out a declaration of an all-out war against the British. A new zeal was generated among the people by Nehru and the whole country was electrified. The struggle could, no longer, be delayed; the Congress authorized it under the leadership of Gandhiji. There was no doubt much excitement, but the final programme of civil disobedience was yet to be chalked out. Though thrilled at the awakening, as Nehru admitted, he was anxious to canalise it properly. As the first step in this direction, the Congress legislators at the Centre and in the provinces were called on to resign; more than 178 of them responded immediately. As a symbolic expression the 26th day of January was christened as "Independence Day". Thousands of meetings were held all over India that day in 1930 and in a solemn tone the people pledged: "It is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil." They also resolved that "if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them they have a further right to alter it or abolish it". Exactly twenty years were to elapse before this pledge could be redeemed and a free people could give to themselves a constitution of their own making.

Soon after, Gandhiji met the Viceroy several times and carried on negotiations. Irwin was himself anxious for a settlement. He had gauged the intensity of popular feeling and was eager to arrest the widening of the rift between the Congress and the Government. Finally he succeeded in persuading Whitehall to associate the Indian leaders in the task of framing a constitution for India. The response from the other political parties was enthusiastic; but the Congress paid little heed to the move. Irwin was keen on Congress participation, but there were difficulties on either side. All the goodwill between Irwin and Gandhi, therefore, proved to be of no avail; both were adamant on fundamentals, and these were irreconcilable. And so in the early hours of March 12, 1930 Gandhiji, with a small band of followers, left his Sabarmati Ashram and began his famous 200-mile march to Dandi on the shores of the Arabian sea with a solemn vow to

break the salt law. This was a novel move, symbolic of a new mood of defiance, and it stirred the entire country.

For his part, Nehru was most jubilant and gave vent to his feeling in these words: "Today the pilgrim marches onwards on his long trek. . . . The fire of a great resolve is in him and surpassing love of his miserable countrymen. And love of truth that scorches and love of freedom that inspires. And none that pass him can escape the spell, and men of common clay feel the spark of life." He asked his people, especially the youth: "Will you be mere lookers-on in this glorious struggle?" reminding them that, "the field of battle lies before you, the flag of India beckons to you and freedom herself awaits your coming". And with deep emotion he cried out, "Who lives if India dies? Who dies if India lives?"

As President of the Congress, Nehru busied himself with the details of the new movement and issued like a Commander-in-Chief directions to the soldiers of freedom in different parts of the land. Within a fortnight, however, he was arrested in Allahabad and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. This time his destination was the Naini Central Prison. Soon after Gandhiji himself was whisked away in a car and taken to Yeravda Prison, near Poona.

These arrests released a wave of resentment among the people; there were strikes in textiles mills, hartals all over India. A most extraordinary situation developed. Irwin could not rule India with ordinary laws; he had to issue one ordinance after another. He assumed almost dictatorial powers but still the upsurge could not be crushed. He, therefore, prevailed upon his Government to make a gesture of a substantial constitutional advance; the result was the Round Table Conference, hurriedly called in London.

To Nehru such a gesture meant little; he was more excited about civil disobedience and particularly the role of women in it. He felt proud of the part that his wife Kamala took; and was greatly moved by the heroic manner in which his aged mother participated in the struggle. On the whole, the movement was non-violent, but there were some lapses,

as for instance, in Chittagong, where the police and the army fired on an unarmed crowd; in Sholapur, where people took over the administration and then clashed with the military; in Peshawar, where under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, popularly known as "Frontier Gandhi", the Red Shirts faced police bullets, which killed more than thirty and wounded an equal number. However, what upset the authorities considerably was the refusal by two army platoons to fire on their own unarmed countrymen in Peshawar. It showed not only a new alliance between the Congress and the Muslims but a new spirit of defiance in those officers and men upon whom the Raj relied for its existence.

All this time, Nehru languished in a small cell in the Naini Central Prison with no contact with the outside world. It was an exasperating experience and wrecked his nerves. He organised his life to a schedule—spinning for a few hours, doing yoga and reading. He conformed to strict discipline and kept himself occupied most of the time. A month later, he was joined in prison by his ailing father and Syed Mahmud. Despite his age — he was seventy then and in poor health — Motilal plunged into the struggle and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. He was taken to Naini and his one consolation was his reunion with his son in the jail. Motilal became worse steadily and by September 1930, he had to be released. His father's condition shocked and saddened Jawaharlal who was soon joined by his brother-in-law, Ranjit Pandit.

Outside, the two Liberal leaders, Sapru and Jayakar, were trying to bring about peace between the Congress and the Government. They contacted the Nehrus in jail, but both father and son refused to commit themselves, one way or the other, unless they had met Gandhiji and held consultations with the other members of the Congress Working Committee. They were, therefore, taken along with Syed Mahmud to Yeravda, where Gandhiji was detained. The talks lasted several days. Jawaharlal was released soon after but before taking any further part in political discussions, he rushed to his father's bedside. Finding him a little better he moved out

for keeping the agitation alive. Hardly had he enjoyed a week of freedom when he was again arrested and sentenced to twenty-eight months' rigorous imprisonment. He returned to his old cell in Naini—isolated and cut off. Though dying, both the son's arrest and the severity of his sentence angered Motilal who called on the people to observe Jawaharlal Day, on November 14, the day he was born. The response was enthusiastic. More than 5,000 persons courted arrest and hundreds of thousands showed their sympathy with their beloved prisoner. In jail Nehru read avidly and wrote a series of letters to his daughter which he later published as *Glimpses of World History*.

Outside the jail, there was a lull in the storm. In London the Round Table Conference had just been inaugurated and the first session adjourned after discussing only the preliminaries. The socialist Ramsay Macdonald was then the Prime Minister and in order to win over the Congress, he promised that the British would make the executive responsible to the legislature subject to certain safeguards. His statement created a more congenial atmosphere and Irwin improved it by releasing all the Congress leaders. Meanwhile, on February 6, 1931, Motilal passed away, plunging not only Jawaharlal but millions of his countrymen in mourning. In his last days, Gandhiji remained with Motilal; Jawaharlal found a haven of solace and peace in the Mahatma.

Politically there was less of tension especially because of the frantic efforts that were being made by Sapru and Jayakar. These paved the way for the Gandhi-Irwin negotiations on February 7, which culminated in the famous Delhi Pact on March 5. At the Karachi Congress the Pact was approved and Gandhiji left soon thereafter for London, accompanied by Sarojini Naidu. He participated in the Second Round Table Conference in the autumn of 1931; but returned by the end of the year empty-handed, disillusioned and disheartened. To Nehru neither the Pact nor the London Conference gave any comfort. He did not expect anything out of them. He even expressed a sneaking admiration for the terrorists. As he told

the Karachi session of the Congress, "The corpse of Bhagat Singh shall stand between us and England." He was all for a fight but he found that neither Gandhiji nor the country was ready for it. At the session, therefore, he busied himself with drafting a resolution on "fundamental rights". Earlier, he had met M. N. Roy and under his influence and guidance, prepared "a minimum programme" for the Congress, which guaranteed such freedoms as those of expression, religion, thought and assembly; equality before the law, irrespective of sex, creed or caste; protection to regional languages and cultures; for the industrial workers, living wages, limited hours of work, old-age insurance; safeguards against unemployment; abolition of untouchability; universal adult franchise; free primary education; prohibition; state control and management of key industries, services and public undertakings; and the establishment of a secular state. The resolution, despite some opposition from the right wing, was passed, and most of it has since then found an honoured place in the new Constitution. For Nehru, it was a personal triumph; it laid the foundation of the welfare state that he was to try and build in free India.

IX — DIFFERENCES WITH GANDHIJI

Frustrated, tired and exhausted, Nehru left for Ceylon on a holiday with his wife. In India the political situation threatened to become worse, with tension mounting in Gujerat, Bengal, Bombay and the Frontier Province. Irwin had retired and in his place Lord Willingdon took over as the new Viceroy. In London also the Round Table Conference headed towards a communal deadlock. Finally, the Mahatma lost hope of a constitutional settlement and returned home by Christmas of 1931.

On his arrival he found his followers disorganised and dissipated. There were ordinances in force in Bengal, the U.P. and the Frontier. Many Congress leaders were behind the bars. The truce had not only been broken, but the new Viceroy had declared war against the Congress. Gandhiji sought an interview with him, but in vain. Soon he himself was taken into

custody. To quote Sir Samuel Hoare, who was then the Secretary of State for India, "I admit that the ordinances that we have approved are very drastic and severe. They cover almost every activity of Indian life." Furthermore, the Congress was banned; its records destroyed; its properties seized; its funds confiscated. Even affiliated or sympathetic organizations were not spared the onslaught. Political meetings were prohibited. Processions were not allowed. The press was gagged. Thousands were put in prison. Huge fines and penalties were imposed. Willingdon struck pitilessly with all the force that his administration could generate. He struck so suddenly and severely that even a stoic Congress was taken aback.

Nehru continued to languish in prison. In his helplessness his anger rose. He learned of the savage attack of the police on his aged mother in Allahabad. She was leading a procession when she was battered and left on the road, alone and uncared for. He was so hurt that he began to doubt the very efficacy of non-violence; on such brutes would human goodness have any effect, he wondered. In February 1932 the Government transferred him from Naini to the Bareilly District Jail and thereafter to Dehra Dun Jail, where he spent the last 14 months of his imprisonment until August 1933. This time Nehru did not keep good health. He often fell ill and suffered from exhaustion. Soon he realised that he must reconcile himself to a futile existence in jail. He, therefore, occupied himself with odd jobs.

Abroad, Hitler had risen to power and the great economic depression had hit the Western world. He feared that there would be another world war. He saw darkness all around in Europe, perceiving a ray of hope in Soviet Russia. As he said, "I do believe that fundamentally the choice before the world today is between some form of communism and some form of fascism and I am all for the former." He did not then see any "middle road" as he put it.

At home, the Communal Award of the British Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald had created a new situation; and as a protest against it Gandhiji decided to go on a fast unto death unless the award, which provided for separate electorates

for the untouchables, was revoked. Nehru did not like the fast or the manner in which it was undertaken. One thought alone troubled him: What would happen to India if Gandhiji died? As a result of the efforts of several people, a settlement was, however, brought about between the Mahatma and the leader of the untouchables, B. R. Ambedkar, who later became a minister in Nehru's Cabinet and forged free India's Constitution. Separate electorates were given up. The Government accepted the Poona Pact, as it was called, and Gandhiji ended his fast, only to begin, some time later, another 21-day fast. It was strictly for self-purification. A perplexed Nehru then told Gandhiji that he felt lost "in a strange country" where "he groped his way in the dark but stumbled". As the fast was non-political, the Government released Gandhiji. He suspended the civil disobedience movement. Soon after, he sought an interview with the Viceroy, but it was refused again. To Nehru all this came as "one of the biggest shocks I ever had." He almost lost faith in Gandhiji's leadership. To quote his words, "I had a sudden and intense feeling that something broke inside me, a bond that I had valued very greatly snapped."

As if groping for some light, Gandhiji offered individual satyagraha. The Government arrested him. True to his own technique, he began yet another fast. The Government released him. This time he decided to abjure all agitation for one year. Meanwhile, Jawaharlal's mother took seriously ill. He was released and rushed to her bedside in Lucknow; then he came to Poona to see the Mahatma. They talked at length but instead of understanding each other they found the gulf between them yawning both politically and ideologically. Their affection for each other remained, but there was no common ground for action. To Nehru, Gandhiji's new-fangled emphasis on constructive work seemed meaningless, his moral fads irritable. To him, the uppermost task before India was the attainment of freedom. Still he lacked the courage to break away from the Mahatma. As Subhas Bose, who was Nehru's chief lieutenant then, pointed out, "With a popularity only second to that of the Mahatma, with unbounded prestige

among his countrymen, with a clear brain possessing the finest ideas, with an up-to-date knowledge of modern world movement" he lacked "the essential quality of leadership, *viz.* the capacity to make decisions and face unpopularity if need be".

Agitated, Nehru became more conscious of his role in the national struggle and began to strengthen the leftist forces. For this purpose he openly condemned the reactionary part played by capitalists, communalists, zamindars and princes. In an address to Banaras Hindu University he attacked the Hindu Mahasabha; and later entered into correspondence with the famous poet of Islam, Iqbal, on the destructive role of Muslim communalism. To Nehru there was only one solution to India's problem: a free constitution framed by a fully representative Constituent Assembly and a plan for the economic uplift of all sections of the people. At the Bombay session of the Congress in 1934 held under the presidentship of Rajendra Prasad, now President of the Republic of India, Nehru moved the resolution for convening a Constituent Assembly to frame a suitable Constitution for free India.

About this time an earthquake shattered the landscape of Bihar, rocking some 20,000 people to their doom and destroying a million homes. Nehru with Prasad rushed to the shambles to give immediate succour to the victims and floated a fund. Gandhiji called the earthquake a punishment for 'the sin of untouchability'. Nehru reacted angrily and said that there was only one sin and that was the continuance of British rule in India. Until it was ended he was not prepared to relax or relent. He carried on with his fiery orations both in Bengal and the U.P. and was again arrested on February 11, 1934. He was first kept in the Presidency Jail, Calcutta, and then taken to the Alipore Central Jail. By now Nehru had become so used to jail routine that he found no difficulty in adjusting himself to it. Most of his time he spent reading books and contemplating the next step. He was puzzled by Gandhiji's methods, especially the manner in which he terminated all forms of civil disobedience on the slim ground that some valued comrade of his had not performed his prison task fully. Nehru could not

restrain himself and called the decision "a monstrous proposition and an immoral one". In Alipore Jail he began to lose weight. He was transferred to Dehra Dun Jail.

Outside, the political situation was no better; nor was there any improvement in Kamala's health. Nehru rushed to Allahabad and was released temporarily. The parole lasted only eleven days and he was back in prison. This time he was taken to Naini in order to be nearer his wife, in case of any emergency.

Politically also he was becoming more and more disillusioned. He found it difficult to comprehend Gandhiji's tactics. The Mahatma found him rash and impetuous. But such was their affection for each other that neither was prepared for a break. Nehru was young and therefore he could be erratic. Gandhiji was older and more understanding. He could not react in the same manner as Nehru did. As he told Patel, "No amount of political differences will ever separate him from me." To Gandhiji, Nehru was "the rightful helmsman of the Congress". Perceiving that he was getting out of tune with Nehru, and out of court with the radical trend, Gandhiji decided to retire from Congress politics. He gave up his Congress membership. He declared, "I am a dead weight in the Congress now." At the Bombay session of the Congress, his retirement was announced. Gandhiji, none the less, exercised his leadership but now more from outside than inside the Congress; it became more moral than political and hence less controversial and more effective.

As Kamala's condition grew worse Nehru was moved to Almora District Jail so that he could visit her in the sanatorium. He added a few pages, now and then, to his *Autobiography* or visited Kamala. In May 1935 her health became critical and she had to be taken to Europe for special treatment. Jawaharlal saw her off, but was not allowed to accompany her. A few months later as life was ebbing out of Kamala the Government released him. Nehru flew to Europe to face a great personal misfortune. On February 28, 1936 Kamala passed away. His *Autobiography,* which, as Mahadeo Desai commented,

"carried many honest Englishmen off their feet", was about to be published; he dedicated it "To Kamala who is no more."

X—ELECTORAL SUCCESS

Forlorn and heart-broken, Nehru returned to India in March 1936; in his absence he was elected President of the Lucknow session of the Congress. He was touched by the gesture. As he said, "I am weary and I have come back like a tired child yearning for solace in the bosom of our common mother, India." Apart from his colleagues that solace came from his people in abundance. He was moved and exclaimed, "How can I thank you, men and women of India? How can I express in words feelings that are too deep for utterance?"

Gloom continued to envelop the national scene. Gandhiji had withdrawn into his ashram. All round, there was frustration and despondency. In the Congress, the orthodox group, which had never sympathised with Nehru's views, was in control of the organization, while his socialist friends were bitter and frustrated. They organised themselves into a separate group within the Congress and asked Nehru to join them. At first he vacillated but finally said no. Nehru was not prepared for an open fight with his colleagues; he felt that it would put Gandhiji in an awkward position and that, at any rate, he wanted to avoid. His love for his leader was deep-rooted; and, despite differences, he did not want to weaken that leadership in which somehow he had faith. Nehru also knew that but for Gandhiji he could never have been elected President. Leaders like Patel, Prasad and Bajaj did not like his ideas nor were they willing to play his tune. They gave him latitude because of Gandhiji.

For his part, Nehru was anxious to use his influence with Gandhiji and his personal popularity in taking the Congress along a more radical course of action. That is why, though reluctant at first, he accepted the presidentship so that he could act as "a link between various groups within the Congress". The Mahatma also believed that Nehru alone would be able to bridge the gulf between different groups in the

Congress and give to the movement that unity of purpose and action which it badly needed.

The immediate task before the Congress was the preparation for a fight against the Government of India Act, 1935, which Nehru described as "a new charter of slavery to strengthen the bonds of imperialist domination and to intensify the exploitation of our masses". It bestowed a kind of provincial autonomy on the provinces in British India and provided for a federal legislature with restricted responsible government at the Centre. To Nehru the Act was a challenge, which if not met earnestly would bolster anti-national forces. He was, therefore, determined to tear it to bits, to burn it.

In Europe the crisis was deepening and Nehru was anxious that the Congress should give—both nationally and internationally—a correct lead to India. He believed in a socialistic approach to Indian and world problems and towards that end wanted to play his full part. He became less and less inclined to put up with the rightist leadership in the Congress and demanded a radical approach to the main issues. But while the rightists were not bothered about the outside world and gave Nehru all the latitude in the international sphere, approving resolutions bristling with socialistic interpretations, in internal matters they refused to budge and stuck to their views. There Nehru gave in. He was caught in an atmosphere of give and take and lacked the courage to be firm with the result that the Congress decided to contest the elections under the new Act which Nehru had threatened to wreck. Even on the question of office acceptance his opposition was resisted and finally rejected. He was, no doubt, distressed. Three times he decided to resign but, as usual, he was afraid to weaken the forces of unity, especially in view of the international crisis. True, in his new Working Committee he dropped four rightists and nominated others with pronounced socialist leanings; but soon there was trouble. In July 1936 six rightist leaders, including Prasad, Patel and Rajagopalachari, tendered their resignations. They wrote, "We feel that the preaching and emphasising of socialism particularly at this stage by the President and other

socialist members of the Working Committee while the Congress has not adopted it is prejudicial to the best interests of the country and to the success of the national struggle for freedom, which we all hold to be the first and paramount concern of the country." Furthermore, they told Nehru that "the impression of your propaganda on the political work immediately before the nation, particularly the programme for election, has been very harmful." On the intervention of Gandhiji, the resignations were withdrawn. Nehru was bitter and decided to tender his own resignation and place it before the All-India Congress Committee. But Gandhiji put pressure on both sides and patched up their differences for he did not like "family linen" being washed in public.

Abroad, the Spanish Civil War had broken out and political developments in Europe began to cause concern. Nehru, therefore, decided not to weaken the Congress leadership by quarrelling among themselves or create an internal crisis. On their part, the rightists also realised that Nehru could not be dispensed with and in drafting the election manifesto they yielded on many points; many of Nehru's radical views on both social and economic problems were thus incorporated in it. For the next session of the Congress, there was again talk of putting Patel in the saddle. Gandhiji did not agree; he believed that it might alienate the radical element. He, therefore, persuaded Patel and his followers not to contest the election and Nehru was re-elected President of the Faizpur session.

Soon after the session Nehru plunged into the campaign for the elections held under the new Act and toured the country from one corner to another canvassing support for Congress candidates. In less than five months he travelled more than 50,000 miles and used every means of transport — aeroplane, car, train, horse, camel, elephant, steamer, canoe, bicycle and sometimes even walking miles on foot. Thousands of people saw and heard him and during those months he worked on an average eighteen hours a day. He was thrilled at the sight of people gathered in their millions to see him and their enthusiastic

response acted as a tonic on him. The successful India-wide tour confirmed the tremendous popularity of Nehru; it proved that next to Gandhiji he was the nearest to the people's heart. The electoral results were further proof. Of the 1,161 seats that the Congress contested, it won 711. In the "general constituencies" particularly, it swept the polls everywhere. In five provinces it won an absolute majority and in three others it emerged as the largest party. The achievement was great. It was the inevitable triumph of a single man's devotion and, probably, of the spell cast by the magic and charm of the Nehru name, which persists even today.

XI — CRISIS IN CONGRESS

Having secured an assurance from the Viceroy that the Provincial Governors would co-operate with popularly elected Ministers, the Congress Working Committee agreed to form Ministries in provinces, where it was in a majority. Initially Nehru was opposed to this decision, but pressure from the High Command made him accept it. He thought it might prove "a new step" in the fight against "the coming of the Federation". He was, however, against any coalition with other political parties, particularly the Muslim League. He believed that there were only two parties in India — the British and the Congress. Even in the U.P., where the League offered co-operation, he showed no enthusiasm and cold-shouldered its overture. Jinnah was hurt and accepted the challenge. He began organising the Muslims under the banner of the League. He toured India from one end to another and raised the cry of "Islam in danger". To Nehru this was reaction at its worst and he hit back. Jinnah, on his part, used Nehru's unbending opposition to the League to his own advantage and talked of Hindu domination. The Muslim response to Jinnah's call was instantaneous; soon it gathered momentum. Nehru became alarmed and in 1938 entered into correspondence with Jinnah; but there was no meeting ground propitious for an amicable settlement. Ere long the League published the Pirpur Report, which listed the grievances

of Muslims against the Congress Governments. Nehru was annoyed and saw little chance of an understanding with the League. By that time a world war had broken out and both the Congress and the League adopted a wait-and-watch policy.

To strengthen the Congress internally Nehru paid more attention to organizational work and particularly to the relationship of the Congress with the kisan sabhas and the trade unions. As early as in 1937, he had appointed various committees of experts to work on India's planning and from their deliberations emerged a National Planning Committee with Nehru as Chairman. For the first time, people were being made plan-conscious and Nehru was its motive force. He was not very happy with the slip-shod manner in which the Congress Ministries were working; instead of becoming the spearhead of a national movement against the coming of the Federation, they had become ease-loving and power-conscious. For Nehru this was a danger signal and he reacted at once. He criticised the Congress Ministers and said that they were behaving as "counter-revolutionaries". He made it clear to the people that "Ministries may come and go, but the Congress goes on till it fulfils its historic mission of achieving national independence for India".

In April 1938 Nehru went abroad expressing his sense of frustration to Gandhiji at the rot that had set in; he said he had "become out of place and a misfit". He wanted "to freshen up his tired and puzzled mind" by detaching himself from the prevailing environment. In particular he was disgusted with the constitutional garb that the Congress had assumed and resented its having "sunk to the level" of a group of "ordinary politicians".

From Europe also disquieting news came and Nehru became alarmed at the victories of Nazism in Germany and of Fascism in Italy. By June, therefore, he reached Europe, meeting Nahas Pasha, the noted Egyptian Wafdist leader, at Suez. His first halt was in London and then he proceeded to Genoa and Marseilles. Along with V. K. Krishna Menon, who was later to play a prominent role in the making of Nehru's foreign

policy, he also paid a five-day visit to Barcelona, where the International Brigade was fighting against the forces of Franco. He was all praise for the Republicans and ultimately when the Spanish Republic fell, he bitterly criticised Britain and France for their hostile role. During the time he spent in London, he addressed many meetings, condemning British imperialism and stressing the urgency of granting freedom to India.

In November 1938 Nehru returned home and was soon drawn into the crisis that had overtaken the Congress as a result of Subhas Bose's leadership and his fight with the leaders of the Gandhian school. As a way out, Gandhiji requested Nehru to take over the presidentship but he declined and suggested the name of Azad, who also demurred and finally Pattabhi Sitaramayya was chosen as the Gandhian candidate. Bose decided to stand again and opposed Sitaramayya. In the contest Nehru took a neutral stand. The result was a surprise to all. Bose was re-elected by a 1,580 to 1,375 vote. Immediately, fifteen members of the outgoing Congress Working Committee resigned. Nehru was not one of them, but he issued a separate statement saying that he would not serve on the new committee. Was it not another form of resignation, he was asked. "Not quite correct", said Nehru, "and yet correct enough." Nehru was neither here nor there. He preferred to be neutral but his neutrality leaned more on the side of Gandhiji.

A few days later, Bose took seriously ill and was not able even to read his presidential address at Tripuri. On the second day, his condition grew worse and he was unable to come to the session; instead, Azad took the chair. Bose's followers created a lot of trouble and as Nehru described it, it was "a grievous sight". During the twenty-six years he had attended the Congress, he had never seen such a scene. According to him, it was nothing short of "hooliganism" and "fascist behaviour". In the open session, however, the Gandhians scored and Bose was censured. He accused Nehru of betrayal. Nehru was unrepentant, for he believed that in the next few months India was bound to face a big struggle.

As he told Bose, "That struggle without Gandhiji's active participation and leadership was not likely to be an effective one." He admitted that though Bose had always shown great affection and regard for him, the two were temperamentally different and "our approach to life and its problems is not the same". He did not like Bose's softness towards Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy; or his political methods at home. Nehru was, no doubt, aware that many of his own followers did not understand or even like the stand he had taken in this controversy. As he put it, "I have succeeded in becoming very unpopular with them, quite a remarkable feat — to displease almost everybody concerned." But until the last he tried to bridge the rift between Gandhiji and Bose. He did not succeed. Ultimately, perhaps inevitably also, Bose had to resign the presidentship. In his place the A.-I.C.C. elected Prasad. To prove his impartiality Nehru kept out of the new Working Committee but the gesture did not bring Bose any the nearer. In fact, he left the Congress soon thereafter and formed his Forward Bloc. Amidst the internal confusion, Nehru took advantage of an invitation from China and spent four weeks there as the guest of Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, then in power in that land.

XII — WORLD WAR

As a result of the deepening of the international crisis, which soon engulfed the world in a catastrophic war, Nehru had to cut short his Chinese visit and rush back to India. Stung by the victories of the Nazis he cried out in anguish, "The world is tragic to those who are sensitive, heart-breaking to those who feel". And as Europe sat on the edge of the sword, he gave thought to the situation at home. The country was declared belligerent by Lord Linlithgow, who had taken over the Viceroyalty from Willingdon. For Nehru this was not a patriotic war but a struggle between fascism on the one side and imperialism as represented by Britain and France on the other. In such a conflict, India could have no place and hence

the Viceregal ukase was criticized, condemned and totally opposed by him. His heart was, no doubt, with the Allies, but he made it clear that if India were to participate in the war, it would have to be on equal terms. Freedom was a prerequisite for India joining the Allies.

Nehru's reaction was later endorsed by the Congress Working Committee in a resolution, which stated: "If the war is to defend the *status quo*, imperialist possessions, colonies, vested interests and privilege, then India can have nothing to do with it. If, however, the issue is democracy and a world order based on democracy, then India is intensely interested in it." The British must first declare "in unequivocal terms what their war aims are" and in particular how these were going "to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present". Gandhiji hailed the resolution and described its author as an artist who had the friendliest feeling towards the English. He spoke of Nehru's "nationalism" being "enriched by his fine internationalism" and emphasised that his disciple stood not only for India, but "for all the exploited nations".

However, as the war situation worsened and there was serious talk of active co-operation with the British, differences in approach between the master and the disciple again came to the fore. Linlithgow made an offer to include representative Indians in his Executive Council, but rejected the Congress demand for an immediate transfer of power as impracticable. In the circumstances, the Congress declared that it could not possibly give any support to the British. The Viceroy became rigid in his approach. Nehru was disappointed and fell in line with Gandhiji, whose attitude was hardening. But at the same time another development took place which was equally tragic: the growing rift between the Congress and the League. In a desperate effort to bridge the gulf, Nehru met Jinnah several times, but to no avail. The League leader liked Nehru, spoke of his personal regard for him and even admired "his character and integrity"; but he disapproved of his politics and compared him to "Peter Pan who never grows up". Meanwhile, as the cleavage between the

Congress and the Government widened, Congress Ministries resigned. Jinnah, as a shrewd politician, exploited the situation and proclaimed a "Day of Deliverance" for the Muslims. Nehru was hurt. He believed that Jinnah had become impossible. He disliked his politics as much as he detested his tactics.

As the war situation worsened further, there was renewed talk of wresting freedom for India; there was a feeling that despite Jinnah and his League it could be achieved. At the Ramgarh session of the Congress, held under Azad's presidentship, there was a move for a struggle against the British, but no concrete plan was formulated. In Europe, Hitler's armies were on the march, overrunning one country after another; even France collapsed. Nehru was aghast and did not want the Congress to exploit Britain's perilous position. His heart went out to the Allies and he yearned to help them. Gandhiji agreed with his logic but was not prepared to offer armed assistance. At the A.-I.C.C. meeting in Poona, Rajagopalachari, ignoring Gandhiji's stand, made an offer to the British of armed co-operation if there was a political settlement. Nehru supported him in spite of the misgivings that his attitude caused among his socialist supporters who wanted no truck "with this imperialist war". The Viceroy, however, showed no enthusiasm and Nehru reconciled himself to a struggle which Gandhiji was planning. As in the past Gandhiji first held talks with Linlithgow and these having failed, as they were bound to, he embarked upon an individual civil disobedience movement in 1941.

His first satyagrahi was Vinoba Bhave—now world famous as the Bhoodan leader—and the second Nehru. The British reacted strongly and arrested the satyagrahis. At his trial Nehru was sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment; it shocked even Churchill. India was stunned; hundreds of meetings were organised to protest against it. For Nehru neither the punishment nor the sentence was of any consequence because, as he told the judge, "It is a small matter to me what happens to me in this trial or subsequently.

Individuals count for little; they come and go as I shall go when my time is up. . . . But it is no small matter what happens to India and her millions of sons and daughters. That is the issue before me, and that ultimately is the issue before you, sir." He lamented the parting of the ways but declared that it was inevitable. To use his own words, "Let those who seek the favour and the protection of this imperialism go their way, we go ours."

Not long after, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour took place and it brought the United States into the war. In consequence, Nehru along with other Congress leaders was released. The external situation had by now become critical for the British. It was too risky and unwise to keep any longer the Indian leaders in jail. Nehru still showed no bitterness and continued to believe that the progressive forces were with the Allies; but he could not co-operate with them, unless his co-operation could be effective. Under his pressure, therefore, the Congress made another bid for a settlement with the British, but failed. On his part, Gandhiji was still averse to the idea of armed co-operation but in deference to Nehru's wishes remained quiet. He had faith in his leadership; on international issues especially he preferred to rely on Nehru's judgment. He believed that the future lay in his hands. To quote the Mahatma, "Jawaharlal will be my successor. He says that he does not understand my language and that he speaks a language foreign to me. This may or may not be true but language is no bar to a union of hearts. I know this that when I am gone he will speak my language." The declaration was unambiguous and unequivocal. From then on, Nehru became the acknowledged heir of Gandhiji.

In South-East Asia, the Japanese forces overran Hongkong, the Philippines, Malaya, Singapore, Thailand; they conquered Burma and came to the doors of India. For Nehru, Japan's "co-prosperity sphere" theory held no attraction. Despite the intransigence of the British his heart was still with the Allies. He, therefore, welcomed the visit of Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek to India. They prevailed upon President

Roosevelt to use his good offices with Churchill and arrange for an immediate transfer of power to Indian leaders to ensure the successful prosecution of the war. Churchill sent Sir Stafford Cripps to Delhi for a political settlement with the Congress and the League, but his mission failed.

Jinnah and his League had propounded by now their two-nation theory and refused to compromise on their demand for Pakistan. But the failure of the Cripps Mission generated a new bitterness in the Congress and there was once again talk of a fight to the finish. The issue was debated with much heat and passion at the A.-I.C.C. meeting in Allahabad, where the Congress decided on a programme of parallel resistance to the Japanese by resorting to a "scorched earth" policy. The British would no doubt be hindered in their war efforts but the Congress could not help it; it had to organise people's resistance to Japanese invaders.

At the next meeting of the A.-I.C.C. in Bombay on August 8, 1942 Gandhiji gave the dramatic slogan of "Quit India" and with those two simple, clear words, he asked the British to pack up and go, so that India could mobilise her full strength against a Japanese invasion. Nehru was not happy with Gandhiji's unbending attitude for he believed that it might jeopardise the chances of an Allied victory. But he was also aware that the Congress could not remain idle; inaction on its part would be suicidal. Until the last, therefore, Nehru tried for a settlement and, as Gandhiji later revealed, he almost "forgot his old quarrel with the imperialists". But the British did not respond; on the contrary, within a few hours of the passing of the "Quit India" resolution, which had left the door open for negotiation, the authorities swooped on Gandhiji, Nehru and other Congress leaders and whisked them away in a special train. Gandhiji was taken to the Aga Khan's Palace in Poona; the rest, including Nehru, to the Ahmednagar Fort, where they remained detained until June 15, 1945. These arrests sparked a new rebellion in the whole country and, for a few months, India was caught in a fire of agitation and revolt unparalleled in her annals. The people took Gandhiji's *mantra* of "Do or

Die" literally to heart; in consequence, they set out either to free India or to die in the attempt. For months chaos prevailed. A sense of insecurity overwhelmed the Government. Gandhiji later regretted these happenings; but to Nehru they were inevitable and showed people's impatience. As he observed, "If we did not pacify them, I think we would have lost all strength." During the three years that Nehru remained in the Ahmednagar Fort with such colleagues as Azad, Patel, Kripalani and Syed Mahmud, he read a lot as usual and took an active part in the community life within the jail. His special interest was gardening and he devoted a great deal of time to it. He also did much writing and completed his last book, entitled *Discovery of India*, which gives his interpretation of the currents and cross-currents in Indian life through the ages.

XIII — TRANSFER OF POWER

As the world war neared its end in 1945, with the Allies emerging victorious on all fronts, there was renewed talk of a political settlement between India and Britain. But the unprecedented stress of a bloody holocaust into which India had been unwillingly drawn, the phenomenal shortage of food for her civilian population, and the insensitivity of an unimaginative bureaucratic machine — all these had culminated two years earlier in mass starvation and deaths in Bengal. Even now there were near famine conditions in several parts of the country. More than the political deadlock it was the economic challenge that perturbed the authorities. As months passed, tension mounted. It shook up even the steel-frame of the Raj.

Churchill had sent Wavell, a general with a magnificent war record, to India as the Viceroy; but before he could embark on his unenviable task, the Tories were unseated at home and a Labour Government, headed by Clement Attlee, captured power. Nevertheless, Wavell plunged into his work with energy and earnestness. He offered to reconstitute his Executive Council so as to make it representative of the

people and towards that end called a conference in Simla on June 25, 1945. Invitations were sent to many leaders but the focus was on the participation of the Congress, whose leaders were released for the purpose, and the League. Although Nehru took part in the conference, he neither showed excessive enthusiasm nor pinned great hopes on it. He knew Jinnah and the obstacles that he would create in the way of a settlement. About the attitude of the Government also he was not very sanguine. As the conference dragged on, Nehru escaped for a fortnight's holiday in the "loveliness of the land" of Kashmir to enjoy "its beauty of river and valley, lake and graceful creeks". Meanwhile, the new Labour Government, determined to break the political deadlock, summoned Wavell to London, where he held talks for about a month. He returned to India with a fresh constitutional offer, much more radical than before. As an earnest of British intentions general elections were ordered and the decision to convene a Constituent Assembly was announced. Efforts were simultaneously made to reconstitute the Viceroy's Executive Council. At first the Congress entertained several misgivings, but later it appeared convinced of the change in the British attitude.

The elections, however, did not improve the situation; they confirmed the hold of the Congress among the non-Muslims and of the League among the Muslims. The latter won all Muslim seats in the Central Assembly and about 75 per cent of the Muslim seats in the provincial legislatures. Only in the North-West Frontier Province it lost to the Red Shirts of the Khan Brothers who obtained a clear majority. Consequently, the Congress formed Ministries in eight of the eleven provinces, the League in Bengal and Sind, and the Unionist Party, with Congress support, in the Punjab.

The next stage was the reconstitution of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the convening of a Constituent Assembly. As further proof of their earnestness, the British Government sent to India a three-member high-power Cabinet Mission consisting of Lord Pethick Lawrence, the new

Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps and A. V. Alexander. At the same time, two other developments took place. One was the trial of the members of the Indian National Army (I.N.A.) which had been organised in South-East Asia by its Netaji, Subhas Bose, from among the Indian prisoners-of-war in South-East Asia, and the second was the naval mutiny in Bombay. To Nehru both were symbols of a new resurgence in India. Some officers of the I.N.A. were picked and brought for trial as deserters; to Nehru and his followers they were a "fine body of young men" whose "dominant motive was love for India's freedom". "They deserve to be treated", he said, "as prisoners-of-war" because they "functioned as regular, organised, disciplined and uniformed combatant forces." Their alliance with Japan was only to facilitate India's freedom. Nor could Nehru doubt, as he pointed out, Bose's "passion for independence". An I.N.A. Defence Committee was, therefore, set up by the Congress to assist the accused at their trial. Nehru himself put on the robes he had discarded years earlier and in the company of Bhulabhai Desai, Sapru, Katju, and Asaf Ali, appeared for the defence. The trial took place in the Red Fort. Though the officers were convicted, such was the popular adoration of their valour and the public resentment against their conviction that the authorities had to commute their sentences.

On February 18, 1945 in the wake of an R.A.F. disturbance at Dum Dum airport, Calcutta, ratings of the Royal Indian Navy in Bombay rose in revolt. There was tremendous excitement among the people and even talk of an armed seizure of power. Nehru disapproved of violent methods, especially when a peaceful transfer was in the offing. The ratings eventually surrendered both in Bombay as well as in Karachi, where a similar revolt had been organised.

As the negotiations with the Cabinet Mission progressed, Nehru became convinced that the British meant to quit and, hence, he went about his task seriously. For several months the Mission endeavoured to bring about an agreed settlement between the Congress and the League. Having failed in that, its

members produced on May 16, 1946 a scheme of their own under which there was to be a Union at the Centre with three subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications; three groups of provinces, one predominantly Hindu and the other two predominantly Muslim, dealing with the other subjects, and below them the provinces themselves. This three-tiered plan, as it came to be called, was not drafted in precise terms and, therefore, a battle of interpretations raged between the Congress and the League, especially on the question whether grouping was optional or compulsory. The Mission also outlined a scheme for the formation of an Interim Government at the Centre. Nehru did not care much for the Mission's long-term or short-term plan but as the former provided for a Constituent Assembly, he saw no harm in accepting it. On the other hand, he saw too many catches in the Interim Government arrangement. The Mission, therefore, left India without achieving any results; both the Congress and the League stuck to their viewpoints.

Meanwhile, Nehru was elected President of the Congress in succession to Azad. Tired of the deadlock, the Congress accepted the long-term plan with its own interpretations. So did the League with its interpretations. But a storm broke out as a result of a speech made by Nehru at the A.-I.C.C. meeting in Bombay on July 10, 1946, when he declared that the Congress was not bound by any conditions and that the Constituent Assembly would function as a completely sovereign body. On that pretext Jinnah at once pulled the League out of its earlier commitment and rejected the plan. Further, he called for direct action to achieve Pakistan. Suddenly the atmosphere became so charged with hatred that widespread communal riots broke out in many parts of India, particularly Calcutta. In a desperate attempt, Nehru met Jinnah but their talks were fruitless. In their failure crashed all hopes of a settlement between the Congress and the League.

From London the Labour Government demanded swift action by Wavell. He was perplexed, unable to bring the Congress and the League together. Finally he called on

Nehru on September 2, 1946 to form an Interim Government. In a broadcast, five days later, Nehru outlined the broad policies, both domestic and foreign, of the new Government and sought the co-operation of all people in this historic undertaking. He emphasised the urgency of raising the living standard, appealed for communal harmony and promised to ameliorate the condition of the untouchables and the backward tribes. In foreign affairs, he declared non-alignment with power blocs as the kernel of his policy and called for the liberation of the colonial people. He urged the League to join the Interim Government in a spirit of harmony and co-operation and said that the door would be kept open for its representatives. A month elapsed before Wavell was able to bring the League into the new Government; but, instead of improving the situation, its coming in created new problems. Squabbling became the order of the day and the Government a house divided, with the result that there were two Governments instead of one, each functioning against the other. Nehru was fed up and at the next session of the Congress declared, "Our patience is reaching the limit and if these things continue a struggle on a large scale is inevitable." He could not say "how long we will remain in the Interim Government". Jinnah was not impressed. He ridiculed Nehru's efforts to turn the Viceroy's Council into a Dominion Government. As the League leader put it, "Little things please little minds; you cannot turn a donkey into an elephant by calling it an elephant." As allegations and counter-allegations worsened the situation, Attlee invited two representatives of the Congress, two of the League and one Sikh leader to London in a final effort to bridge the gulf. Both Nehru and Jinnah were among those who went to London; for four days the talks lasted but to no avail. Distrust had gone too far and any understanding between the Congress and the League was found impossible.

Immediately on Nehru's return from London, the Constituent Assembly met in Delhi on December 9, 1946. The League boycotted it. In moving the Objectives Resolution,

Nehru, in a memorable speech, declared, "It is a resolution and yet it is something much more than a resolution. It is a declaration. It is a firm resolve. It is a pledge and an undertaking and it is for all of us, I hope, a dedication." He pleaded with the League to abandon its boycott, called upon the princes to play their proper role, but made no secret of his determination to go ahead, with them if possible, without them if necessary. He declared, "India, as she is constituted today, wants no one's advice and no one's imposition upon her." She would be proclaimed a sovereign, democratic republic and whatever Constitution her representatives in the Constituent Assembly framed would become the Constitution of free India — whether Britain accepted it or not.

At this time Nehru faced another difficulty: the growing rift between himself and his principal deputy, Patel. At times it was ideological; often temperamental. Gandhiji intervened and brought them together; but there was no real unison. From outside Jinnah gave trouble and obstructed the finalisation of a constitutional settlement. The Congress tried to woo him by compromising on the grouping issue; but the League leader was no longer interested in a united India. The challenge of Pakistan had become real; and even Nehru with all his antipathy to the two-nation theory began to have second thoughts. Patel had already reconciled himself to partition. Wavell continued to waver and was eventually replaced by Lord Mountbatten to bring a fresh mind to the problem.

In his desire to put an end to the stalemate, Attlee was agreeable to any solution. Hence, without waiting for an agreement between the Congress and the League, the British Prime Minister announced on February 20, 1947 in the House of Commons that the British would quit India "by a date not later than June 1948", transferring power "as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India, or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people". At last, the die was cast. Nehru

hailed it as a "clear and definite declaration" which was "a challenge to all of us". Though not very happy, Jinnah also welcomed it. Only Gandhiji was sad; he saw in the declaration the germs of Pakistan. As he told Nehru, "It may lead to Pakistan for those provinces or portions which may want it." Strangely enough Churchill also raised his voice against it; he foresaw that it might lead to "partition" and even "fragmentation" of India but the British leader was more concerned about his country's "shameful flight, by a premature, hurried scuttle", which would add "the taint and smear of shame" to Britain's glorious heritage.

XIV — FULFILMENT

At last, there was fulfilment. But the dawn of freedom brought in its wake partition and its terrible aftermath. Nehru's joy was, therefore, warped by a tragic touch in an unexpected manner. In hastening the coming of independence, Mountbatten's dynamism, no doubt, played a helpful part; but it also added to the tension. Clear in his mind about the objective, he imparted to his mission all the military speed and efficiency of which he was capable. He knew that the British had to quit and, hence, ensured that they withdrew in good time and good grace. Of its internal consequences he was not so careful. Power was transferred to Nehru on the one side and Jinnah on the other hurriedly, much earlier than scheduled; in fact within less than six months of his arrival, Mountbatten had completed the operation, despite the bloodshed it caused.

One reason for this extraordinary haste was, no doubt, the rapid deterioration in Hindu-Muslim relations, which in its train, had sapped the morale and vitality of the administration. Mountbatten foresaw the outbreak of a sanguinary conflict. The atmosphere, especially in North India, was tense. Blood flowed in Lahore, Amritsar, Multan, Rawalpindi, Sialkot and Jullundur in the north-west, and in several places in Bengal. To these terrible events, Nehru himself was witness. He visited many areas reduced to a shambles by rioters. He was appalled by such behaviour of human beings as "would

have disgraced brutes". There was growing insecurity and fear among the Hindus and the Sikhs of West Punjab and the Hindus of East Bengal. There was transparent nervousness among the Muslims living on the proposed frontiers of Pakistan. Slowly but steadily, massacre and looting became the order of the day and hooligans made no distinction between children and women, or between the aged and the young. Millions, in search of safety, left their hearth and home on both sides of the border. They recorded the biggest migration in history.

But, while India was in the grip of such unprecedented violence, Nehru organised in Purana Qila on March 23, 1947, the first Asian Relations Conference. Present at the conference were representatives of many countries of Asia, including the Arabs from West Asia and comrades from Soviet Central Asia. To Nehru, this was indeed a great occasion. He declared in his inaugural address, "Asia after a long period of quiescence has suddenly become important again in world affairs." Though it was only the beginning of that awakening and the period ahead would still have to be a period of transition, Asia was determined to take, as Nehru put it, "her rightful place with other continents". He was proud that India was playing "her part in this new phase of Asian development". But to others engaged in the task of finalising the transfer of power, the conference did not mean much. Neither Nehru's colleagues in the Congress nor the League leaders bothered about it. To them the task nearer home was all important; nor were they, temperamentally or politically, much enamoured of such assemblies. To Nehru India was essentially a part of Asia and the world and, hence, even in the midst of her tragedy, the internationalist in him could not forget her obligation to the rest of the exploited people.

True to his task, Mountbatten busied himself with giving the finishing touches to the last act. He met Gandhiji, Jinnah, Nehru, Azad and other leaders, of both the Congress and the League, several times. Having satisfied himself that there was no basis for a united India, he made them accept the inevitable — Partition. Time and circumstance had already brought

Nehru and Patel round. Jinnah first ridiculed the idea of a "moth-eaten" Pakistan, as he called the Mountbatten plan, and then reconciled himself to whatever he could get. Even the British initially were not happy over partition but Mountbatten brought home to them that there was no other choice; it was the only plan which could produce the minimum agreement among the parties for the withdrawal of the British. He paid a hurried visit to London and secured the imprimatur of the British Government on his scheme. Returning to India, he called a conference of prominent leaders on June 2, 1947, and after receiving their endorsement, announced the details of his partition plan the next day. Nehru, sad at heart, declared, "It is with no joy in my heart that I commend these proposals, though I have no doubt in my mind that this is the right course." The distinction between the "heart" and the "mind" was significant. At a historic A.-I.C.C. meeting held two weeks later, Gandhiji was the unhappiest person present; he could not approve of the plan but was too unnerved to say anything. Apparently, he did not have either the heart or the courage to oppose his own proteges and plunge the country into another struggle. Nehru tersely commended the plan and it was approved by 153 votes to 29 with 36 abstentions.

For two months, thereafter, until the zero hour on August 15, 1947, the communal situation steadily deteriorated despite the agreement between the Congress and the League. In the law of the jungle, loosed by the brutes, where was the place for security of life or property?

In London, the constitutional formalities were rushed through and by the end of July, the Indian Independence Bill had been passed by both Houses of Parliament. The Act brought into existence the Dominion of India and the Dominion of Pakistan consisting of the Provinces of Sind, the North-West Frontier and West Punjab in the west, and East Bengal in the east. Nehru and the Congress decided to let Mountbatten continue as the first Governor-General of the Dominion of India, but Jinnah appointed himself as the head of Pakistan. Though criticised at that time, Nehru's gesture in retaining

Mountbatten proved beneficial to India. He not only helped Nehru and his colleagues to settle many thorny problems of partition but exercised a moderating influence on Indian princes who, on a characteristic interpretation of the lapse of paramountcy, seemed to aspire to freedom. Mountbatten was clear in his mind about the role the princes would have to play in the new set-up and, consequently, advised them, in private and in public, to take a realistic view of the constitutional position and accede to one Dominion or the other, mindful of their geographical position and the religious character of their subjects.

At the stroke of midnight on the appointed day, Nehru rose to the occasion and to the full stature of his leadership. In the Constituent Assembly, he declared, "Long ago, we made a tryst with destiny and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom." He concluded with the exhortation, "This is no time for petty and destructive criticism, no time for ill-will or blaming others. We have to build the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell." Most of India celebrated the birth of free India with great rejoicing and enthusiasm but there was one who, though the architect of it all, kept himself aloof. He sensed no happiness in his heart or fulfilment of his dream. He continued his one-man mercy mission in far-off villages in East Bengal, bringing help to the needy, comfort to the distressed and balm to the lacerated — all victims of communal frenzy in the country's very hour of glory.

XV — BLOOD AND SACRIFICE

True, independence brought joy to millions but it plunged Bengal and the Punjab into an agony unknown in India's history. As months passed both Hindus and Muslims, on either side of the border, realised that partition might have solved the constitutional tangle, but at a price immeasurable in terms of human misery. The uprooted did not know where to go. To

many of them it was a journey to doom. Protection was guaranteed to the minorities by the infant Dominions; but neither was able to implement it. In the wake of the holocaust came the Radcliff Award, demarcating the boundaries between the two States, but instead of settling the dispute it only fanned the flames of communal frenzy, especially in the border areas. More than half a million people died in search of rehabilitation; those who survived came to a new soil free but not their own.

As trainloads of refugees from West Pakistan poured into India, the atmosphere in Delhi and East Punjab became charged with hatred. There was indiscriminate looting, and even murder and rape. Gandhiji was a disillusioned soul. His faith in the intrinsic goodness of humanity was shaken. As he saw those orgies he was appalled by the cruelty of man to man. Every day, at his prayer meeting, he enlarged on the theme of peace and communal harmony with a messianic fervour. People heard him but he did not find in them the proper response.

Nehru, as he confessed in a broadcast, was also "full of horror with the things that I saw and heard". To the Prime Minister, it was a challenge, a challenge to his leadership and to the secular character of India. He was distressed to find even some of his own colleagues in the Congress and the Cabinet wavering in their faith in secularism. But in no circumstance could he be untrue to himself; in that flood of hostility he stood firm as a rock. Alone he gave battle to the communalists, without ruth or fear. He braved the wrath of fanatics who, with dagger in hand, sought to stab at the back of his secular state. He declared, unmindful of his popularity, that whatever Pakistan might have done, he would not let India shape as a Hindu State. He said, "India is not a communal state but a democratic state in which every citizen has equal rights." In this pledge, he received the unequivocal support of Gandhiji. In retrospect it emerges as a miracle how the master and the disciple held back the dark forces of communalism that had gripped the people from one end of the country to another. Was freedom worth the price of partition?

Nehru ruefully admitted, "We consented to partition because we thought that, thereby, we were purchasing peace and security." He was not sure what he would do if he had the same choice again. The period of trial and anguish brought Nehru much closer to Gandhiji, perhaps closer than at any time. He rushed to him every day for advice and guidance, even on trifles. He looked to him for moral support in his differences with Patel, which were ever widening on account of a fundamental divergence in outlook. Nor were his other colleagues, particularly J. B. Kripalani, who was then the Congress President, very happy with him or with the relations that subsisted between the Government and the Congress. His socialist friends like Narendra Deva and Jayaprakash Narayan considered Nehru weak-kneed and wanted him to break away from Patel. In the midst of growing disaffection all round, he found reassurance and renewed faith in Gandhiji.

In October 1947 Pathan tribesmen from Pakistan invaded Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh acceded to India and Nehru had to rush his troops in order to defend the frontier State from the advancing raiders. The tribal invasion hardly helped to restore faith in the *bona fides* of Pakistan; or in her declaration of protection to the Hindu minority. Hence, there was a sudden communal flare-up, especially in Delhi. Pained by these developments Gandhiji embarked on a fast unto death so that he could persuade all Indians, irrespective of caste or creed, to "live like brothers". Nehru believed that "the loss of Gandhiji's life would mean the loss of India's soul". He told the people so.

The Mahatma's fast had its moral effect. Within five days, not only did the communal situation in Delhi improve but, as a corollary to it, even the gulf between Nehru and Patel was bridged. But that was not enough. There was no genuine meeting of hearts. Little did the nation then know that a supreme sacrifice would have to be made in the next few weeks. During those anxious days, Nehru vindicated, as a British observer said, "one's faith in the humanistic and civilised intellect". In the "turmoil of communalism, with all its

variations from individual intrigue to mass madness", he not only spoke "almost alone" but acted so. In the eyes of Hindu communalists, the secularism of Gandhiji and Nehru was a serious challenge to their creed. Nehru could be tackled on a material plane but Gandhiji's sway over the people was too spiritual to be negatived. They vowed to destroy him in order to eliminate that moral force.

There was hushed talk of a despicable conspiracy and on January 20, 1948, a young man dropped a crude bomb at a prayer meeting. Ten evenings later, a Hindu fanatic, Nathuram Godse, snuffed out the life of the Mahatma with three shots from his revolver as Gandhiji was coming to his prayer meeting. The apostle of non-violence had at last found by a violent act company in his "incomparable friend". Stunned and overwhelmed by grief, Nehru rushed to Birla House, where Gandhiji lay in state. A nation was orphaned; so was Nehru. He wept like a child and told his people, "The light has gone out of our lives and there is darkness everywhere." An inconsolable Nehru moaned in the Constituent Assembly, "I have a sense of utter shame, both as an individual and as the head of the Government, that we should have failed to keep the greatest treasure that we possessed." With tears in his eyes, he declared, "A glory has departed and the sun that warmed and brightened our hearts has set and we shiver in the cold and dark."

Slowly as the days passed the wound began to heal. Nehru recovered and told the nation in his own inimitable way, "We mourn him; we shall always mourn him, because we are human, and cannot forget our valued master; but I know that he would not like us to mourn him. No tears came to his eyes when his dearest and closest went away; there was only the firm resolve to persevere, to serve the great cause that he had chosen. So, he would chide us if we merely mourn. That is a poor way of doing homage to him. The only way is to express our determination, to pledge ourselves anew, to conduct ourselves so, and to dedicate ourselves to the great task which he undertook and which he accomplished to such a large extent." And so

Nehru returned to his post to redeem that pledge, to carry on that task, with unswerving faith in the nation, with unreserved loyalty to the master, with the unbending response of a *karmayogi* to the call of duty.

XVI — ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

One immediate good that the Mahatma's martyrdom did was to bring home to the people the state of degeneration into which Indian society had fallen. There was a welcome spirit of repentance among them and a rededication to the ideal of communal harmony. The tidal wave had been checked for the most part. Nehru and his colleagues were anxious to put to constructive purpose the new spirit of amity at home. But while the atmosphere in India was improving there was a fresh outburst of communal hatred in East Bengal which promptly had its impact on West Bengal. Thousands of Hindu refugees crossed the border into West Bengal; and the intensity of their distress evoked sympathy with them as also resentment against Pakistanis and those Indian Muslims who had supported the conception of Pakistan. Again, Hindu-Muslim relations became strained. Several responsible people demanded a war against Pakistan, unmindful of its repercussions. Their cry was a big challenge to Nehru's leadership; but it was a benevolent circumstance that at that crucial moment Patel stood firmly by the Prime Minister, even though he showed no particular concern for the fate of Indian Muslims. He was anxious that Nehru, without being bellicose, should be tough towards Pakistan. This policy bore fruit, and the Pakistani Premier, Liaqat Ali Khan, rushed to New Delhi from Karachi and held a series of talks with Nehru. An agreement was eventually signed on April 8, 1950 under which refugees were guaranteed the right to return to their original homes, protection in transit and the right to transfer movable property and to dispose of immovable property. Safeguards were also provided for the recovery of looted property and abducted women.

The two Premiers promised to provide equal rights for minorities in both countries. Nevertheless, West Bengal leaders

considered the Nehru-Liaqat Pact an act of appeasement and the two Bengali members of Nehru's Cabinet, S. P. Mukerjee and K. C. Niyogi, resigned. Had it not been for the unequivocal support that Patel gave to the Pact, the situation might have worsened.

The Sardar, however, was not too happy at Nehru's unqualified secularism; nor did he like his radical attitude towards social reforms, in particular the codification of Hindu law and his insistence on socialistic measures in the economic field. He was indifferent to the Planning Commission, which Nehru so eagerly set up; nor did he approve of Nehru's hostility towards the landed and moneyed interests. In selecting Purushottamdas Tandon for the Congress Presidentship in 1950, he threw a challenge to Nehru because Tandon stood for orthodox values in social affairs and for economic development on private lines. He also favoured a strong policy towards Pakistan. Against Tandon, the Nehruites put up Kripalani, who is now one of the chief opponents of Nehru, but Tandon won, proving the superior hold of Patel on the party machine. Nehru himself kept aloof from the contest, but later refused to co-operate with Tandon or join the latter's Working Committee. At the Nasik session of the Congress, over which Tandon presided, Patel saw that for the masses, the Congress meant Nehru. He, therefore, relented and persuaded him to accept membership. Nehru agreed, unwillingly, for the sake of party unity. A few months later, Patel died and with him the only serious challenge to Nehru's leadership in the Congress ended. Nothing could thereafter happen in the Congress without Nehru's approval; he was the lord and master of the party.

That was why Tandon, with his peculiar ideas, could not continue as President and by September 1951 he had to resign. Nehru took over the presidentship and the dual role of controlling the executive as Prime Minister and managing the party as President continued until 1954, when one of his nominees, U. N. Dhebar, took charge of the Congress organisation. Dhebar guided the organisation for five years until Nehru's own daughter, Indira Gandhi, succeeded him.

Meanwhile, the Constituent Assembly concluded its labours at the end of four years and adopted a constitution on November 26, 1949. It came into force on January 26, 1950 making India a sovereign, democratic Republic.

While Nehru was busy giving a new dynamism to people's aspirations and occasionally a necessary lead to the rest of Asia — as he did by calling a 19-Nation Asian Conference in January 1949 in New Delhi to protest against the Dutch "police action" in Indonesia — Deputy Prime Minister Patel was engaged in integrating 650 odd princely States into the Indian Union. By August 15, 1947, he had managed to bring about the accession of all but Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir. These taxed the patience and resourcefulness of India's new administrators. Of them, Junagadh proved to be a storm in a tea cup. Hyderabad with the Nizam at its head and fanatical Razakars running amuck among its people, was a tough affair. Its size and historical background could not be ignored. Nehru and Patel gave a long rope to His Exalted Highness, who dreamt of an independent kingdom and whose advisers even flirted with Pakistan. Ultimately, on September 13, 1948, Indian troops marched into Hyderabad, launched police action and took over the State.

Broadcasting on the occasion, Nehru declared, "We are men of peace, hating war, and the last thing we desire is to come into armed conflict with anyone. Nevertheless, circumstances, which you know well, compelled us to take this action in Hyderabad. Fortunately, it was brief and we return with relief to paths of peace again." He was pleased with the "restraint and discipline" shown by both Muslims and non-Muslims. He was happy that, despite the communal danger inherent in the situation, "not a single communal incident occurred in the length and breadth of this great country."

In Kashmir, the situation was different because of the aggression committed by Pakistan and the consequential complaint of India to the Security Council. In a speech to the Constituent Assembly in March 1948, Nehru explained the position thus: ". . . Kashmir is not a case of communal

conflict; it may be a case of political conflict, if you like; it may be a case of any other conflict, but it is essentially not a case of communal conflict. Therefore, this struggle in Kashmir, although it has brought great suffering in its train to the people of Kashmir and placed a burden on the Government and the people of India, nevertheless, stands out as a sign of hope that we see a certain kind of co-operation, combination and co-ordination among certain elements, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and other, on an equal level, and for a political fight for their own freedom. I wish to stress this because it is continually being said by our opponents and critics on the other side, that this is a communal affair and that we are there to support the Hindu or the Sikh minorities as against the Muslim masses of Kashmir. Nothing can be more fantastically untrue. We could not for instance send our armies and we would not be there if we were not supported by very large sections of the population, which means the Muslims of Kashmir. We would not have gone there in spite of the invitation of the Maharaja of Kashmir if that invitation had not been backed by the representatives of the people of Kashmir and may I say to the House that in spite of our armies having functioned with great gallantry, even our armies could not have succeeded except with the help and co-operation of the people of Kashmir."

Nearer home, two major problems — rehabilitation of refugees and economic planning — engaged Nehru's attention. In less than a year more than five million Hindus had crossed over from West Pakistan, and three million from East Pakistan. Their absorption was a gigantic task. But, by November 1950, Nehru could report to Parliament that "compared with the way in which the refugee problem has been dealt with in other countries, our results have been creditable". In regard to planning, the Planning Commission constituted by him in March 1950, with himself as Chairman, prepared after labouring for fifteen months the blueprint of the First Five-Year Plan, which primarily aimed at self-sufficiency in food. The Plan was drafted in terms of two sectors, the public and the private, for the work of national development, with

the former exercising, as Nehru emphasised, "strategic control" over the latter. Under the Plan, multi-purpose irrigation and power projects were given priority. Of such, the gigantic Bhakra-Nangal project in the Punjab, the massive Hirakud dam in Orissa, the sprawling Damodar Valley project in West Bengal, the Kosi project in Bihar, the Tungabhadra project in Andhra, the Mayurakshi project in West Bengal, the Koyna project in Bombay and the Kundah Valley project in Madras are all monuments to Nehru's planning. He often refers to them as places of pilgrimage in modern India.

Speaking about the targets of the First Five-Year Plan in 1952, Nehru declared, "Our ideals are high and our objectives are great. Compared with them, the Five-Year Plan appears to be a modest beginning. But let us remember that this is the first great effort of its kind and that it is based on the realities of today and not on our wishes. It must, therefore, be related to our present resources or else it will remain unreal. . . ."

The first general election under the new Constitution in 1951–52 was a triumph of Nehru's leadership; it was a historic experiment carried out magnificently. The electorate was colossal and consisted of 173 million voters — the biggest in the world — eighty per cent. of whom were illiterate. They had to elect 4,000 representatives, 489 to the Lok Sabha and 3,375 to the State Assemblies. Each was required to vote at one of the 196,000 polling booths. True, Nehru was anxious to canvass their votes for the Congress candidates; but he was more particular about building a sound and solid democratic structure. As he reported to the A.-I.C.C., "The coming elections are important, but it is far more important to know exactly what we stand for and how we want to function in the future. It is better to keep our soul and to lose an election than to win that election in the wrong way and with wrong methods."

Electioneering was not new for Nehru; he had done it in 1937 and 1945. But the present election was different; it was

based on adult franchise. The 170 odd million voters were spread over thousands of villages and hundreds of towns; to reach them all was an impossible task. But Nehru toured extensively, covering about 30,000 miles and addressing no fewer than 30 million people. The result was that the Congress swept the polls. In Parliament it won 362 of 489 seats and secured a majority in most of the States. Nehru had good reason to be satisfied with the outcome, even proud of it. He was victorious both in his experiment of democracy as well as in bringing his party back to power.

XVII — FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Under her new constitution, India ceased to be a Dominion and became a Sovereign Democratic Republic; nevertheless, she did not leave the Commonwealth. For years Nehru had advocated a complete severance of the British connection, but the manner in which the British left and the new forces, "full of strife", looming on the world horizon compelled him to take a more realistic view. Hence, at the conclusion of the conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London on April 27, 1949 he agreed to a declaration endorsed by all other members that India, though a Republic, would remain within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Under the new formula, the British Sovereign became the symbolic Head of the Commonwealth.

On his return home, Nehru defended his decision in a broadcast to his people. As he put it, "I have naturally looked to the interests of India, for that is my first duty. I have always conceived that duty in terms of the larger good of the world. That is the lesson that our master taught us and he told us also to pursue the ways of peace and of friendship with others, always maintaining the freedom and dignity of India." He saw hatred in men's hearts and fear and suspicion clouding their vision. He was, therefore, anxious to welcome every step that would lead to a lessening of the tension in the world. In that light, it could not but be a good augury for the future that the old conflict between India and England should have been resolved in a friendly way, honourable to both countries.

There were too many disruptive forces in the world and the Prime Minister was averse to throwing " our weight in favour of further disruption, and any opportunity that offers itself to heal old wounds and to further the cause of co-operation should be welcomed". He, however, made it clear that "the evil part" of the Empire would have to be broken; as also anything that came in the way of any member-nation's growth. He added ". . . it is better to keep a co-operative association going which may do good in this world rather than break it."

In less than a week after his arrival, Nehru took steps for the ratification of the London decision by the Constituent Assembly and, despite opposition from socialists and communists, was able to obtain overwhelming support of the members; thus was put India's seal on the new relationship with Britain. Later, the Congress also approved the decision at its Jaipur session. In Britain and other Commonwealth countries, it created a further reservoir of goodwill for India. To the rest of the world, it was a fine lesson in co-existence; it enhanced the prestige of India.

Before returning from his historic visit to London, Nehru stopped at Paris, where the General Assembly of the United Nations was in session. He was invited to address it. In an eloquent appeal for a revaluation of Asia's role in world affairs, Nehru declared in a passage which has assumed historic importance: "May I say, as a representative from Asia, that we honour Europe for its culture and for the great advance in human civilisation which it represents? May I say that we are equally interested in the solution of European problems; but may I also say that the world is something bigger than Europe, and you will not solve your problems by thinking that the problems of the world are mainly European problems. There are vast tracts of the world which may not in the past, for a few generations, have taken much part in world affairs. But they are awake; their people are moving and they have no intention whatever of being ignored or of being passed by. It is a simple fact that I think we have to remember because, unless you have the full picture of the world before you, you

will not even understand the problem, and if you isolate any single problem in the world from the rest, you do not understand the problem. Today, I do venture to submit that Asia counts in world affairs. Tomorrow, it will count much more than today."

To convey the same message, Nehru undertook a year later at the invitation of President Truman a trip to the United States. It was his first visit to America. He was impressed by the gigantic strides in technological and material fields made by Americans, but he did not find depth in their approach to life. He was amazed by the reaction to his policy of non-alignment. He took pains to explain it but he found little response among responsible Americans. He assured the House of Representatives, "We have to achieve freedom and defend it. We have to meet aggression and to resist it, and the force employed must be adequate for the purpose. But even when preparing to resist aggression, the ultimate objective, the objective of peace and reconciliation, must never be lost sight of, and heart and mind must be attuned to this supreme aim, and not swayed or clouded by hatred or fear. This is the basis and the goal of our foreign policy. We are neither blind to reality nor do we propose to acquiesce in any challenge to man's freedom, from whatever quarter it may come. Where freedom is menaced, or justice threatened, or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral. What we plead for, and endeavour to practice in our own important way, is a binding faith in peace, and an unfailing endeavour of thought and action to ensure it." He hoped that the great democracy of the United States would understand and appreciate India's approach to life's problems because Nehru was anxious to develop friendship and co-operation between the two republics. In a tone ringing with sincerity he told America, "I stand here to offer both in the pursuit of justice, liberty and peace."

Nehru's first visit to America was, however, not very fruitful; it only hardened his attitude to the West. He believed that it had not yet got over the colonial complex and continued to take Asia and Africa for granted. That was not so in the East;

from there he received both admiration and sympathy, even public support to his international stand.

In the latter half of October 1954, Nehru visited China and in a triumphant tour was able to see the many changes that the communists had brought about in a short time. He saw, as he himself said, "This ancient country in new garb, and it is the face of youth here that I shall especially remember, the vital, active joyful faces of young men and young women, boys and girls and children, that is the memory especially that I shall carry with me."

He was convinced that China was anxious to be friends with India and emphasised that both could learn something from each other. To use his own words: "Both can co-operate in many ways even though their problems may differ to some extent and their methods might not be the same. The essential thing between two nations and two peoples is tolerance and friendly feelings. If these are present, then, other things follow. I am convinced that these are present in China and India." Earlier, during the visit to India of the Chinese Prime Minister, Chou En-lai, concrete shape to this understanding had been given by a re-affirmation of the five principles incorporated in the preamble to the Sino-Indian agreement on trade with Tibet. In a joint declaration the two Prime Ministers declared in June 1954 that they would abide by those principles which came to be known as the Panchshila; these are (1) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; (2) non-aggression; (3) non-interference in each other's internal affairs; (4) equality and mutual advantage and (5) peaceful co-existence and economic co-operation.

In their opinion, if these principles were applied not only between various countries but in international relationship generally, they would surely lay a sound foundation for peace and security, and the fears and apprehensions that exist today would give place to a feeling of confidence. In their subsequent meetings, which took place periodically, the two Prime Ministers tried to apply them in practice in their relation with each other but on the question of Tibet and the undemarcated

Sino-Indian frontiers, the Chinese were always stiff and became "aggressive" towards India after the revolt of the Dalai Lama and his followers in 1959.

However, at the Afro-Asian Conference held in Bandung in 1955, where both Nehru and Chou played a prominent part, these principles held sway and were elaborated into Ten Principles for world peace. They were approved by 29 participating Governments of Asia and Africa. Since then, "Bandung" has become a symbol of the new awakening of the Afro-Asian world and of its determination to take its rightful place among the nations.

Soon after Bandung, Nehru made his historic journey to the Soviet Union; two years later he went again to the United States but this time at the invitation of a friend, President Eisenhower. Both the visits were of tremendous significance. The one because it brought India and the Soviet Union closer together than ever before; subsequently the return visit to India of Bulganin and Khrushchev strengthened that friendship still more. The other, because of the clearing of several misunderstandings between the two great republics.

Despite the risk of Western reaction Nehru showed courage in undertaking the visit to the Soviet Union and still more in inviting the Soviet leaders to India but he was amply rewarded by the firm attitude taken by the Soviet Union in favour of India on the questions of Kashmir and Goa—a part of India still in Portuguese possession—and the large-scale economic aid that came from Russia. In fact, these visits reinforced Nehru's position, both nationally and internationally. Though the West was not happy at first and did not make any secret of its misgivings about these developments it soon realised that India could not be taken for granted and hence there was a keener desire on its part to come to terms with India.

On his second visit to the United States in 1956 the treatment given to Nehru was different. He was listened to more respectfully and even his non-alignment policy was not devalued. In this, Eisenhower, no doubt, played a great part; but Nehru

also assured the Representatives and Senators of America that though India might be neutral in her international dealings, she would not be neutral where freedom was in peril or democracy was threatened.

In his meetings with Western leaders in Europe on several occasions, especially during the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conferences, Nehru sought to clarify his foreign policy. It goes to his credit that despite the adverse and sometimes hostile press in the West he was able to convince those who came into personal contact with him about the sincerity of his approach and his *bona fides*. In consequence, there was better understanding even in the West of the role of India in world affairs. In the newly-freed countries of Asia and Africa Nehru had already won a reservoir of goodwill and affection. To most of them he was the inspirer and guide of their own liberation. That was why Kings and Prime Ministers came to India, paid glowing tribute to Nehru's leadership and in return invited him to their countries and publicly idolised him. This was so specially in Burma and Indonesia in South-East Asia and Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia in West Asia. Leaders from Africa also came to him, including the Prime Ministers of the Sudan and Ghana. In particular, Nkrumah impressed him greatly. Nehru hailed him as a "shining star in the new firmament of Africa". Africa is one of the few continents which Nehru has not yet visited. He has been invited and even pressed by the African leaders but he has as yet not been able to fulfil his promise. He has declared that nothing would make him happier than to do so as soon as time permitted because he has always had a great fascination for the African people and their culture.

XVIII — PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

In India Nehru's leadership, though criticised sometimes by the left, sometimes by the right, continued unchallenged. In 1957, it was put to another democratic test in the second general election. The ruling Congress Party relied more on his personality than on its programme for its electoral success.

A vote for the Congress was openly solicited as a vote for Nehru. But the leader himself spoke more about the achievements of the party in power—of the Five-Year Plans, the community development projects, the objective of a socialistic pattern of society and finally, India's growing status in the world. It was, however, accepted on all hands that with most voters, it was the magic of the Nehru name which weighed. As a result, the Congress won 75 per cent. of the seats in the Lok Sabha and 65 per cent. of the seats in the State Legislatures. For Nehru it was a magnificent achievement; it confirmed his immense hold on his people and added to his international stature. Except in Kerala, the Congress was able to form ministries in all other reorganised States. At the Centre its sway was overwhelming.

Soon after the formation of a new Government, Nehru faced a crisis in India's economy, caused by an acute shortage of foreign exchange and food. The Prime Minister exhorted the nation to produce more food and warned his Party that unless the economic situation was retrieved, freedom would be jeopardised. He also called for the speedy introduction of land reforms and eventually made the Nagpur session of the Congress approve such radical measures as State trading in food grains, co-operative farming and service co-operatives. Nevertheless, the economy was giving way at many points and there was strong criticism of his policies from different quarters; the left attacked him for being weak-kneed and the right thought he was going too fast. There were also attacks on his policy of non-alignment, which had resulted in a diminution of Western aid to India. Nehru replied, "I say with a challenge that even if Jawaharlal Nehru were to go mad, the Congress and the country will not depart from the policy of non-alignment and socialism." He was conscious of the difficulties the country faced; he was worried about the set-back to some of his cherished programmes. Still, he said, "We will never change our policy. If somebody does not want to give us aid, well, let him keep his money with him. We will go on without aid."

However, there was a time especially after the Gauhati Congress, when he felt "stale and flat". He wanted to give up office. As he told the Congress Parliamentary Party in April 1959, "I feel now that I must have a period when I can free myself from this daily burden . . .". He did not want to escape from responsibility but was anxious to operate for at least six months as a private citizen without the cares of office. The announcement came as a bombshell to the Congress and to the country. Neither his colleagues in the Cabinet nor the rank and file of the Congress Party were prepared to allow him to retire. From everywhere pressure was put on him to continue; eventually he relented, rather grudgingly. "The atmosphere is getting heavier, murkier, more difficult for a sensitive person to breathe easily. What is one to do, I do not know," he said.

The episode over, Nehru returned to the saddle with renewed dedication to planning for the future. He was in a hurry to build the India of his dreams. Under his inspiration the framers of the Second Five-Year Plan had set specific tasks: (*i*) a sizable increase in national income so as to raise the level of living in the country; (*ii*) rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries; (*iii*) a large expansion in employment opportunities and (*iv*) reduction of inequalities in income and wealth, and a more even distribution of economic power.

Looking to the backward conditions and poverty of the people, these were not ambitious undertakings. By the end of the Plan in 1961, the national income would increase by 25 per cent.; there would be 10 million new jobs; production of food grains would go up by 25 per cent., cotton by 31 per cent. and jute by 25 per cent.; 21 million more acres of land would be brought under irrigation; industrial production would rise by 64 per cent., steel recording 231 per cent., partly because of the Soviet-aided Bhilai, the West-German-aided Rourkela, and the British-aided Durgapur—all fruits of Nehru's policy of non-alignment.

Moreover, railways would be extended; transport facilities —both on sea and land—would be enlarged; education

would be widely spread; medical facilities would be greatly increased; and finally, the shape of rural India would be changed by the extension of the community development programme. At the inauguration of this last programme, which assured a new existence to 325 million people, Nehru exclaimed, "The work which has been started here today spells the revolution about which some people have been shouting for so long. This is not a revolution based on chaos and the breaking of heads, but on a sustained effort to eradicate poverty." Essentially a scheme of self-help, it has brought to thousands of villages new roads, buildings, schools, hospitals and helped them in reclaiming virgin and waste lands, and given them more food, more clothing, better health and a modicum of education. Rightly Nehru boasted, "Nothing has happened in any country in the world during the last few years so big in content and so revolutionary in design as the community development projects in India." His statement was supported by an acknowledged American authority on rural development, M. L. Wilson, who, after an extensive survey of these projects, recorded, "My admiration and enthusiasm for the programme as a whole, its vastness, its organisation and its objectives is such that I can hardly express my judgment and opinions except in superlatives. In many aspects, there has been nothing approaching its scope and objectives in the history of rural improvement and adult education throughout the entire world."

But the emphasis in the Second Plan has been on rapid industrialisation; according to Nehru it could be achieved, especially in the field of heavy industries by enlarging the public sector. By the resolution on Industrial Policy issued by his Government on April 30, 1956 the scope of State enterprise was considerably expanded and included "all industries of basic and strategic importance, or in the nature of public utility services," as also "other industries which are essential and require investment on a scale which only the State, in the present circumstances, could provide". In pursuance of this policy, Nehru went ahead with the installation of heavy plant

and machinery for iron and steel production; with machine-tool manufacture; with mining and heavy electrical plants. In other industries the State reserved the right to interfere in larger public interest; and though industrialists were assured that there would be no nationalisation of their private concerns, they would have to function within the new framework of a socialist economy. Naturally there was panic in the private sector. Nehru, however, assured it, "I do not want State socialism of that extreme in which the State is all-powerful and governs practically all activities . . . I should, therefore, like decentralisation of economic power. We cannot, of course, decentralise iron and steel and locomotives and such other big industries but you can have small units of industries as far as possible on a co-operative basis with State control in a general way. I am not at all dogmatic about it." His economic adviser, P. C. Mahalanobis, had a solution: large machine-building industry as the basis for secondary industries; and cottage industries as the basis for large-scale employment. The private sector was alarmed at this approach; under its pressure considerable modifications were made, with the result that there is much greater harmony now between the public and private sectors than previously.

Nevertheless, as an earnest of Nehru's socialism, his Finance Minister, T. T. Krishnamachari, who later resigned under unhappy circumstances, presented a novel budget for increasing taxation and raising more revenue for financing the new schemes. It was such a radical departure from all budgetary precedents that it shook the whole economic structure. Krishnamachari, however, remained firm. He declared, "We could not have taken a different course; in democracy it is very difficult to get credit from people unless you do something substantial."

In 1958 the Second Plan faced serious trouble due to a large foreign exchange gap; it had to be pruned and one of the victims of pruning was the community development programme, which had to be slowed down. Nehru was, naturally, sad and distressed. Similarly, in the field of land reforms, despite his own convictions and personal enthusiasm, he had to mark time.

The subject falls in the State list and the State Ministries do not share to that extent his ideological concern for giving land to the tiller; some drastic measures have, no doubt, been taken by them but the situation has not improved. In his anxiety to hasten the process Nehru even amended the Constitution making compensation for acquired land non-justiciable and leaving the executive free to determine its quantum—a measure which provoked considerable opposition in various quarters. Equally slow and haphazard has been the progress of education, 80 per cent. of the population still remaining illiterate. Again on the question of over-population he is neither clear nor firm; in fact he seems to believe, much to the surprise of his own experts, that "India can support a larger population given economic growth".

In scientific and technological development, Nehru has always taken great interest; that is why he has set up twelve national laboratories in various parts of the country to do research in subjects as diverse as agriculture, industrial technology, nutrition, malaria, cancer, fuel, drugs, tropical medicine, leather, glass and ceramics. For nuclear research he has almost a passion; ever since its formation he has kept the Department of Atomic Energy under his own charge and established two nuclear-research institutes, one in Bombay and the other in Calcutta. One atomic reactor—Apsara—has already been commissioned; another is under way, with Canadian help.

XIX — STRESSES AND STRAINS

One of Nehru's outstanding contributions to the building up of free India is the sense of unity and stability that he has given to the administration; his personality itself has been the strongest cementing factor. In fact, people sometimes become alarmed and wonder what will happen to the whole fabric when he is gone. That is why the persistent question: After Nehru, what?

Even in his life-time, disruptive tendencies have sought to raise their ugly heads; one of these was the linguistic agitation. Though based on sound, scientific and cultural principles of

administrative organisation, the language issue was exploited by interested parties and became a challenge to Indian unity. The first to wage a campaign were the Telugu-speaking people of Madras, who demanded a separate State of Andhra. A Congress worker, Potti Sriramulu, fasted to death. At last, Nehru gave in and formally inaugurated the new State in October 1953.

Once Andhra was conceded, the other demands for linguistic reorganisation could not be resisted. Although Nehru denounced them as "foolish and tribal attitudes", he was conscious of the intensity of the people's feelings and appointed a States Reorganisation Commission to go into the whole question and to suggest appropriate measures, bearing in mind the need to preserve and strengthen Indian unity. After two years of survey and investigation, the Commission reported, recommending the redivision of the country into sixteen States and three Territories. Not all were satisfied; in some States like Bombay and the Punjab, discontent took a most violent form. Nehru vacillated, suggesting one modification after another. Finally, solutions were announced by him and even approved by Parliament but these did not resolve the conflict. In fact, in Bombay, the Congress suffered heavy electoral reverses and the Opposition parties forged a united front, took full advantage of popular discontent and strengthened their party positions.

Equally disturbing has been the opposition in the South to the introduction of Hindi as the official language of India; the appointment of an Official Language Commission to suggest the time and methods for the change-over from English to Hindi intensified it. In 1957, its report was published, recommending the replacement of English by Hindi by 1965; it made the situation worse, and some forty Congress M.P.s from the South petitioned for a delay until 1990. In Madras, particularly, popular feeling rose to a feverish pitch; Rajagopalachari publicly spoke of Hindi imperialism. Nehru favoured gradualness, rebuked Hindi fanatics and assured South Indians that he was himself "partial to English". But he was not prepared to give English an equal status with Hindi —recognised as the official language by the Constitution. He

guaranteed the former's continued use for all official purposes as an "associate language". He declared, "I don't want people in the non-Hindi areas to feel that certain doors are closed to them."

From the left, Nehru had been facing organised opposition since independence; but recently the right also, alarmed by the tempo of his socialistic measures, took courage and came out openly against him. His life-long colleague and friend, Rajagopalachari, gave the lead and in a short time was able to organise a new party—the Swatantra (Freedom) Party—to halt what he described as the Congress march to communism. At first, Nehru scoffed at it, saying that it was a reactionary group having no roots among the people, but later he showed some concern at its growing influence, especially among the capitalist, middle-class and educated circles, and warned the Congress to be prepared to face its challenge.

From Kerala, where the Communists had obtained a majority in the State Legislature and formed the Government, came disquieting news of a mass upsurge; there was discontent all round and it threatened to paralyse the administrative machinery. Reluctantly Nehru intervened, dismissing the Communist Government and imposing President's rule in the State. He justified the action on grounds of internal security and peace, and said, "Everyone concerned, whether he said it or not, wanted this done in the totality of circumstances." The communists were furious and decried his action as a "betrayal of democracy"; in certain other quarters also, doubts were expressed about its legality and constitutionality.

From across the frontiers, Nehru's foreign policy was subjected to unexpected stresses. First came the danger from the rise of a military dictatorship, headed by General Ayub Khan in Pakistan; it made the relations between the two countries more tense. There was talk of a possibility of war, but the Pakistani General showed commendable restraint. The clouds disappeared. On September 1, 1959, Nehru and Ayub Khan met at Palam Airport, New Delhi, for about an hour and pledged the determination of the two Governments to formulate relations between them on "a rational and

planned" basis, abandoning the old system of tackling issues in an *ad hoc* manner. The Pakistani leader spoke appreciatively of Nehru and said that he was inspired by "his personality and by his thoughts and feelings of goodwill".

From Communist China, for whose admission into the United Nations Nehru had been fighting valiantly, trouble came in a distressing and acute form. It started with an internal revolt in Tibet, regarding whose autonomy Chou En-lai had personally given a guarantee to Nehru in 1954; but despite it the Tibetans were subjected to brutal communist repression, with the result that the Dalai Lama and his followers had to flee and take refuge in India. Because of cultural and historical affinities between India and Tibet, Nehru was pained at the Chinese behaviour. He told the Lok Sabha on April 27, 1959, "We have no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet; we have every desire to maintain the friendship between India and China; but at the same time we have every sympathy for the people of Tibet, and we are greatly distressed at their hapless plight." A week later, he declared in the Rajya Sabha that he was "grieved beyond measure" at the developments over Tibet and reminded the Chinese leaders who accused India of interfering in China's affairs and harbouring imperialist plans that all that India had done was to give shelter to the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan refugees. Though Nehru remained unshaken in his belief in the Panchshila, he admitted that it was losing some of its glitter.

A few weeks later, he received a still bigger shock; the Chinese indulged in "continued aggression" against India's northern borders. Reporting the "incidents" to the Lok Sabha in the middle of August 1959, he declared, "There is no alternative to us but to defend our borders and our integrity." Near those borders lay the tiny states of Bhutan and Sikkim; they became nervous about their independence as they came to know about Chinese troop movements. Nehru reassured them: "Our position is quite clear. Any aggression against Bhutan and Sikkim will be considered as aggression against India." Even in the Ladakh district of Kashmir, the

Chinese had been misbehaving; they had repeatedly ambushed and captured isolated Indian patrols. The Prime Minister also disclosed that in July 1959, an Indian detachment had been taken prisoner by Chinese troops "well within Indian territory". In a White Paper issued by his Government the full story about Chinese intentions was revealed. The Prime Minister was a disillusioned man. Despite his affection for the Chinese, he admitted, "What is happening in China today—I do not want to use strong words—is the pride and arrogance of power that is showing itself in their language and in their behaviour to us and in so many other things they have done."

In the midst of these disturbing developments the people were shocked to learn of the "temperamental differences" between the Defence Minister and the Chief of the Army Staff, who tendered his resignation. On the advice of Nehru, the resignation was withdrawn but the whole episode left a bad taste in everyone's mouth and did considerable damage to the morale of the armed forces and of the people in general.

Earlier, the Food Minister, A. P. Jain, resigned reporting to Parliament his inability to improve the food position. In his place, Nehru appointed S. K. Patil, a dynamic figure in Congress politics, who promised to retrieve the situation. The overall economic position was not too bright, though the new Finance Minister, Morarji Desai, often spoken of as Nehru's likely successor, brought about a certain financial stability and by his visits to Europe and America procured sizable loans to tide over an exchange crisis.

Meanwhile, blueprints for the Third Five-Year Plan (1961-66) were under active consideration. Under Nehru's inspiration, the Dhebar Committee appointed by the Congress has recommended a further tightening up of the tax structure, increased production by an expansion of the public sector as a means of providing resources for additional development and wider employment, substantial steps to bridge social and economic inequalities, and finally the reorganisation of agriculture on co-operative lines on a voluntary basis. But all this is not expected to increase the national income by more than

six per cent. It is a far cry from socialism, Nehru himself describing it as only "a leap forward to a socialist society".

XX — SUMMING UP

As Nehru crosses the biblical span of threescore and ten, he is harassed on many fronts, both internal and external. He starts his day, as he himself revealed recently, in "not too pleasant a mood". First he has to open a "pretty big baggage of telegrams" received from either Peking, Lhasa, Gyantse or Yatung, giving the latest information about the border happenings. "I try to overcome that," he said, "and I am getting accustomed, to some extent, to do that." Then there are disputes and minor crises within his Congress Party; as also the temperamental differences among his own Cabinet colleagues and senior officials, leading sometimes to a Mundra scandal and sometimes to a Mathai episode. Also there is a flood in Kashmir or draught in Rajasthan; a food riot in Calcutta or a linguistic upsurge in Bombay. On every issue he keeps an open mind. He tries to see every point of view. And in the process he often loses his own point of view, with the result that people feel he is not sufficiently firm or decisive.

Politically also, there is dissatisfaction with his policies — the left is annoyed with his compromising approach; the centre is unhappy with his radicalism; the right is openly accusing him of bringing in communism. To the vast majority of people, however, he remains by and large the hero he has always been. They may be irritated with him a little, even angry with him at times, but their faith in the man is unshaken — in his sincerity of purpose, honesty of action and above all in the intensity of his desire to do good to the poor and the downtrodden. But withal he is human. He is susceptible to praise, listens often to wrong people and gives in to friends, due more to past loyalties than to merit. He is, no doubt, brave and daring; he is also impulsive and impetuous, which often creates more problems for himself than he can solve. But he is as conscious of his failures as he is proud of his achievements. He is anxious always to do right but what is right eludes him now and again.

He becomes confused and loses clarity of vision. The ideals before him are still the same and still beckon to him but they seem to have lost some of their they old lustre. He sees the triumph of evil in unsuspected quarters and has become a helpless spectator of the coarsening and distortion by his own colleagues of the values and objectives which he holds dear.

Today, Nehru himself has become a subject of debate; but against the few who have lost confidence in his leadership, there are still the many who do not hesitate to give him unquestioned loyalty. Therein lies the secret of Nehru's role in modern India. He has, as he himself pointed out in an anonymous article years ago, "all the makings of a dictator in him—vast popularity, a strong will directed to a well-defined purpose, energy, pride, organisational capacity, ability, hardness, and with all his love of the crowd, an intolerance of others and a certain contempt for the weak and the inefficient". Then there is "his overmastering desire to get things done and sweep away what he dislikes and build anew. . .". In that process "he may keep the husk" but he sees to it "that it bends to his will".

Is democracy safe in the hands of such a man? To quote Nehru again, "He calls himself a democrat and a socialist, and, no doubt, he does so in all earnestness, but every psychologist knows that the mind is ultimately a slave to the heart and that logic can always be made to fit in with the desires and irrepressible urges of man. A little twist and Jawaharlal might turn a dictator sweeping aside the paraphernalia of a slow-moving democracy." But the man who can give such a penetrating analysis of himself can never be a dictator; Nehru has always guarded himself, more so since his assumption of power, against that "little twist". India's democracy lives because of him; the danger to its survival may arise when he is no more. But in the emergence of that danger his own part will have been far from negligible. The tragedy of his leadership is that, unlike Gandhiji, he has not produced the leaders—young, active and dynamic—who can take on his mantle. And, worse still, he seems least concerned about it. Nevertheless, India prays that after him it may be spared the deluge.

2

IMPRESSIONS AND REFLECTIONS

In this section world figures who have not only won renown in their own countries but influenced human affairs to various degrees judge Nehru's part in the modern age. Their views are necessarily personal because they have known Nehru well on the international plane. In fact, three of them, representing the British, were closely associated with Nehru during one of the most exciting periods in Indian history. The others have been witness to the emergence of a new figure with a new approach on the world scene and speak of those qualities of Nehru which made it possible.

Josip Broz Tito

A Fighter for Peace

THE PERSONALITY of Jawaharlal Nehru and his activity as a political worker and statesman during the period between the two World Wars, the Second World War and the years following it, were already known to me when I first met him at the end of 1954. Therefore, my first personal contact with him seemed to me like a meeting with a man to whom I had been linked with bonds of long-standing personal acquaintance. There is no doubt that the fact that I also got to know him and his activity through his written works greatly contributed to such a feeling. I have always considered him, side by side with Gandhi, the most important person in the struggle for India's independence and her significant and beneficial performance in international life. I highly esteem particularly his great role in the struggle for peace. My opinion was fully confirmed by the impressions I gained during my two visits to his great country and in the course of our other meetings.

Since our first meeting in New Delhi in December 1954, I have had the opportunity to meet Nehru several times on different occasions in India and Yugoslavia and to exchange with him views both directly and through correspondence on a number of current problems relating to international policy and the relations between our two countries. I became convinced, through these contacts and exchanges of views, that he is a great man sincerely devoted to the welfare of his nation and the cause of peace, international understanding and co-operation. It was very easy for us to find a common language

during our talks, since the aspirations and the policies of our peoples were in conformity. So were our views on international issues and this found its full expression in more than one document, out of which I would particularly point out the New Delhi declaration issued on December 22, 1954 and our joint statement with President Nasser signed at Brioni on July 19, 1956.

The greatness of a man and a political leader is reflected, above all, in his ability to symbolize the positive strivings of his people for freedom, prosperity and peace — the fundamental values of contemporary society. In my opinion, precisely in this lies the greatness of Nehru, who made a tremendous contribution to the struggle of the people of India for their independence and for the achievement of the unity of the Indian nation. He, also, initiated and became the directing soul of India's economic and social development, under her specific conditions, towards progress and socialism, and the champion of a consistent policy of peace and co-existence in the international field. It is because of this that I especially esteem Nehru as a person who has succeeded in rallying around himself the majority of the great Indian nation on the policy of internal progress, and as a fighter for peace and peaceful international policy.

Whenever I met Nehru, I was strongly impressed by the strength of his character, the vivacity of his spirit, his great energy, his insight into approaching problems, his attractive manner and directness in personal contacts. I saw in him a brave man who boldly faces the realities of life and is not daunted by difficulties, a man who does not indulge in illusions or has a dogmatic approach to problems, but is ready, boldly and realistically, to tackle and overcome difficulties. I was also greatly impressed by his love of nature, his humanism and his devotion to his family.

I had also an opportunity to see Nehru engaged in political action in his own country, at the annual conference of the Congress at Avadi, in January 1955, when he heralded the new programme of India's development after a socialist

pattern of society. I know this to be the result of Nehru's long years of effort and he could rightly be satisfied with it. On that occasion I was convinced that among the great mass of delegates and people who were assembled, he enjoyed unchallenged authority and deep loyalty, which makes it possible for him to play, under the difficult and complex conditions of the struggle for the development of his country and for the safeguarding of peace, such an important role which transcends far beyond the frontiers of his great country.

India can be proud of having such an outstanding leader, who, through his efforts and farsightedness, is paving the way towards a better future for India, and who, through his untiring activity in the struggle for peace, devotion to the policy of co-existence and the strengthening of peaceful international co-operation, has become one of the most outstanding statesmen of the contemporary world.

Today, I wish him many more years of happy life and fruitful activity in the service of his people—and, thus, in the service of peace and international co-operation.

Gamal Abdel Nasser

Where Two Worlds Meet

To WRITE on Jawaharlal Nehru is a source of great joy to one who does it. It provides him with an opportunity to contemplate on a life which in its length — 70 years — has not reached the same extent as it has in its depth and breadth.

Jawaharlal Nehru's life, in its various aspects, has indeed been a full and rich one.

In its depth, it has reached the limit where he has been able, through the residue of centuries and the vicissitudes of history, to touch upon the very soul of India.

In its breadth, it has been able, despite colonialism and its legacies, to respond to his closer world — Asia and Africa — and to show moreover a comprehensive understanding of the other peoples who live beyond Asia and Africa.

I have had many an opportunity of meeting Jawaharlal Nehru. Regardless of the friendship which it was my good fortune to forge with him and whose threads are now closely knit, any meeting I have had with him was a great and productive adventure.

Our first long meeting was on board a steamer in the Nile. Mostly we talked about planning. Nehru's understanding of the subject and the role which planning played in modern times reflected a genuine consciousness on his part of the nature of the delicate and intricate phase through which the nations of Asia and Africa were passing. He believed that their peoples who had been compelled, under the influence of many historical forces and circumstances, to remain backward in

comparison with others and were later touched by the influence of the great revolutionary awakening which pushed them forward towards emancipation, have no other course open to them in order to catch up with those who had gone ahead but to "plan" their path. To them planning is not only a means; it is a necessity.

Nor is the purpose of planning merely to accumulate figures about production. The training of human beings is the most important part of it. I remember Nehru's words to me at that time: "Remember, the future of any country is closely bound up with the type of people who live in that country."

On one occasion, I had the opportunity of attending a meeting addressed by Nehru at a mass rally which was held in the spacious Ram Lila grounds in Delhi. The masses who had waited to hear Nehru's speech were composed of a heterogeneous group of people: young men and young women, squatting on the ground along with children on the threshold of life; close to them sat elderly men, advanced in age, almost on the threshold of the other world. To this mixed gathering, Nehru began to talk.

I know how easy it is always for a speaker who wishes to keep his audience spellbound to stir up their emotions; but Nehru did nothing of the kind. His voice never rose. He never got into a passion. Nor did the enthusiasm of his audience run high or their feelings get stirred up. They merely listened to what he said, albeit eagerly. At times they would all laugh, both men and women, children as well as the aged.

Despite their diverse nature, they all understood what this man said, this man who had spent the years of his youth in the remote universities of the West and yet had never detached himself from his people until destiny placed upon his shoulders the task of leading them during an important transitory period through which their country was passing.

I was sitting on the dais behind Nehru trying to grasp the significance of the occasion. I did not understand the language he spoke, but I could see that his thoughts and words had a great reaction on the heterogeneous masses who listened to

him. I pondered over his words about Gandhi, whom he had described as one of those leaders who had gone into history not because they brought new things to their people but because they could fathom their innermost recesses and bring up what was there to the surface, clean it and brighten it by removing the moss that enveloped it.

As I sat on the dais behind Nehru watching him speak to his people I was moved and felt how much what he said about Gandhi applied to himself.

The truth is Nehru is not only the exponent of the dreams deeply nestled in the hearts of the people of India. He is also the expression of human conscience itself particularly for people who lived more or less through the same experiences and faced the same problems as the Indians did.

If Nehru has interpreted, and indeed interpreted well, the urges and aspirations of his people as well as those of Asia and Africa, he has also made another contribution no less significant.

He has also interpreted both to his people as well as to the peoples of Asia and Africa, the dreams and aspirations of other peoples in the rest of the world.

Those who had the opportunity of attending the meetings of the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung will realize the full meaning of what I say. At the meetings of the Political Committee of the Conference, which may be regarded as a turning point in our history, Jawaharlal Nehru, the man who never forgets to give that touch of beauty which lies in the rose that always rests in his buttonhole, gave to it many a beautiful touch of thought and ideal, understanding and experience, art and culture, even of philosophy and history.

He interpreted others to Asia and Africa, and interpreted Asia and Africa to others. He was the finest example of mutual interpretation that I have seen.

They say a real artist never gets lost in his art or thought. As a matter of fact, Nehru is as much capable of action, of fighting for his thoughts and ideals as he is in expressing them.

Talking of my association with him I shall always remember the message which I received from him at the time of the British-French-Israeli aggression on Egypt, in which he said:

"If colonialism succeeds in coming back to Egypt, it will reverse the entire course of history and return to every other country from which it had been forced to go. Therefore, . . . colonialism should not be allowed to succeed in Egypt. Otherwise, it will signal a new and long fight for the whole of Asia and Africa."

What a quick comprehension of a complicated situation! And with what scintillating and brave words he conveyed it! It gave us courage and stirred us to fight back.

S. Radhakrishnan

Liberator of Humanity

THERE IS a theory that history is made and nations are shaped by deep currents, economic or other, which drive them inexorably into predestined channels. Even outstanding human individuals, whatever they may appear to do, are tossed about in the currents and do not alter anything very much. This view is not altogether correct. There are historical forces beyond the control of men which sway the future course of life but the quality of great men is not altogether irrelevant to a nation's destiny. Whether it is Caesar or Napoleon, Lenin or Gandhi, they do affect their country and its fortunes. Jawaharlal Nehru is a person of exceptional quality who has had an enduring impact on India's recent history.

If we wish to judge revolutionary heroes we must watch them at close range and judge them at great distance. When we watch Nehru at close range, we feel that we are in the presence of a man of extraordinary gifts, of talents that amount to genius, who has given himself to the service of his fellowmen. He could kindle in a whole nation the fire that burned within him and interpret its spirit to itself. Posterity will look upon him as one of the great liberators of humanity.

The greatest title ever offered to human effort is that of liberator. Nehru took a leading part in the struggle for freedom and worked for the great opportunity which he now has of liberating the minds and hearts of the Indian people from enslavement, from superstition, from outworn ideas, and leading them to their destiny. What made us slaves for centuries was

not the strength of the invader but our own disunion. Consolidation of the country is the task that is set to our generation. Nehru is addressing himself to this great task with all his faith and valour.

Nehru is essentially a democrat. In his way of thinking, there is no place for intolerance, racial or social condescension or national aggressiveness. Even when he acquiesces in policies that are not quite consistent with the spirit of democracy, he does so with the utmost reluctance. In an infant democracy like ours, he is anxious that we should not set up wrong precedents. He is incapable of ruthless action and some may think that no government can govern unless it is hard on evil-doers, the perpetrators of sharp practices and corrupt dealings. But one need not be ruthless to be vigilant about incompetence, graft, corruption and nepotism.

There is some truth in the general impression that Nehru is aloof, that he does not give himself away in conversation, that he is generally reticent and withdrawn with individuals though he is very happy with people. Nehru is readily accessible and is always open to argument, but there are very few who argue with him. That is his misfortune. He is loyal to his friends and that is a noble quality. Being of an introspective turn of mind and very sensitive even to the inaudible currents of public opinion, he strives his utmost to avoid any partiality to friends or unfairness to the country.

He generally inaugurates the Indian Science Congress meetings and pleads for a scientific outlook on all matters. If we do not expand scientific and technical education, we cannot ensure our future. India cannot survive if ability and inventiveness are not encouraged. The history of dictatorships is a monument to the misery, poverty and insecurity of people. If political stability is to be secured, these require to be removed. Nehru wishes to find a way between unbridled capitalism and totalitarian systems. He pleads for socialism which means for him a fuller and more satisfying life in which standards of education, health and culture enlarge for every one. He will not sacrifice the freedom of the human spirit for

anything. His is therefore a type of ethical socialism which is the central feature of the Indian tradition.

The compound of old and new makes India the most exciting of all countries. She has had a great tradition and that tradition is kept alive, because we do not shrink from examining afresh, from time to time, every custom and institution that we take for granted simply because they have been there for a long time. We should like to remain Indian and yet be modern.

Toleration and appreciation of other points of view have been with us from the beginning of our history. Every society has its own cultural values. Though they may be different from our own, they carry an underlying likeness to our own. In the present context of the world, Nehru feels that we should develop a new method of settling international disputes. The doctrine of Panchshila which he advocates requires that force should be reduced to the minimum, and persuasion, which implies understanding, mutual consideration, concession and agreement, should be the dominating factor. He has sought to bridge the chasms that separate races, nations and systems. That is why his name has such a great international appeal and become a legend in his own lifetime.

Jawaharlal Nehru is seventy. He is still amazingly young in spirit. Till recently he used to give way to raw emotions, though he recovered tranquillity in a minute. The Indian people love him so much that they forgive him his few frailties. Perfection lives in realms above. Nehru has vision and courage, fire and intensity. He does not spend much time glorifying the past but is always active meeting the challenge of the future. He is the voice of the Indian people, their hopes and aspirations for political stability, for social change, for democratic planning, for world peace. It is our earnest hope that he may live for many years to guide this country on its onward march to freedom and fulfilment.

Abdul Karim Kassim

A Maker of History

It will be observed that the seventy years of Nehru's life represent an extremely important period in the history of the modern world. In many respects, especially in the fields of science, and the liberation of the human mind, this period is unique in its achievements.

Although Nehru was born in the last century, he reached maturity during the years following the First World War and was, therefore, influenced by the emerging political and social forces which were at work during the nineteenth century and which later culminated in the outbreak of an armed conflict on a scale unprecedented in history. The forces which were unleashed as a consequence of the acceleration in industrial and commercial development during the preceding two centuries brought most parts of the world under the physical domination and material exploitation of the industrially advanced countries of Europe and subjected them to the patterns of the European civilization.

The predominance of the West was maintained by its scientific progress and achievements which entailed, *inter alia*, a rise in the standard of living, the subjugation of the under-developed areas and the accentuation of conflict in the world. At the same time, European colonisation had given impetus to the political and cultural awakening of the people of the colonial and other areas of the world and it kindled the flames of nationalism. Thus, the period between the two world wars witnessed a rapid ascent in the forces striving for freedom and

independence — a trend accelerated by the dissemination of knowledge and literacy, and by the introduction and utilisation of science and technology in these areas.

It could, therefore, be said that Nehru's seventy years of life had coincided with a period in history which was primarily dominated by forces generated by science in its application to the material and human resources of the world on a scale then unknown.

This advance in the control of nature had set the stage for the emergence of a new world with its many problems, the effects of which have not yet been properly weighed. Among these problems mention should be made of the struggle for higher living standards, for national, political and intellectual freedom, for better social existence, and for the promotion of peaceful and harmonious relations between nations. Nehru did not only live in but was the product of this material and cultural turmoil which dominated the world in general and his own country in particular; and, because of his genius, he was destined to play a major part. Nehru inherited the leadership of the Indian national movement and the responsibility of guiding it, by stages, to its goal, and thereby laid down the foundations of an independent India.

The task was colossal, no doubt, and the challenge was great; but Nehru never hesitated to undertake the task or to meet the challenge. He had done so with a mind and determination which revealed the greatness of his spirit and the depth of his genius. And above all, he has been carrying out his life's mission with marked success.

In my opinion, the secret of his success lies in the fact that he had properly absorbed the spirit of his age and endeavoured to abide by the fundamental laws of development as revealed by the progress of science and by the history of society. This intellectual attitude enabled Nehru to respond to the exigencies of the revolutionary forces of our era, namely, science, nationalism and the struggle for peace and security.

Knowing Nehru from his numerous writings and having followed his long struggle for the liberation of the Indian and

other subjugated peoples, I have always been impressed by his great ability to mould the ideals for which he has always stood into the framework of everyday political, social and international life. He is, perhaps, one of those rare historical figures who mastered the art of turning their philosophical concepts into social, economic and political institutions. This may have been the outcome of the intrinsic harmony between his realistic world outlook and his philosophical approach to existence. Because he is endowed with an alert and profound mind, Nehru was able to absorb the spirit which moves the world at large both materially and spiritually.

He was able, in other words, to grasp clearly the working of the main forces which join human history to the existence of the universe. Within such a philosophical framework, Nehru was able to follow a policy which helped India to emerge peacefully from her long and ancient history into the modern stage of existence. The influence of Nehru on Indian renaissance cannot be measured in terms of day-to-day achievement. The whole future of India seems to be in the process of being formulated by Nehru.

On the other hand, Nehru remains the product of his age, revealing in his philosophy and in his political activities the main currents running through the present era in the history of civilization. Although he struggled for India, he was greatly inspired by the history of man. Thus, he moves with the conviction that the world is one and that the fate of men anywhere is influenced by what others do everywhere. His political and other activities reveal the fact that he is moved by a profound sense of responsibility to the world at large.

Any statement made about Nehru is bound to do him and his complex personality little justice. He is not only a statesman and an ardent fighter for freedom and democracy, but a historian, a philosopher, a distinguished literary figure, a social architect and an internationalist. Hence, his activities have not been confined to the boundaries of the Indian sub-continent but taken him into a number of international fields. His influence on the trends of world development stems from the

fact that his approach to the present national and international problems is based on a determination to meet the forces of our time and to utilise them in a constructive manner. He enriched, for example, the Indian national independence movement by giving it an economic, social and cultural content; by the gradual introduction of planned reforms on a national scale; and by the utilisation of science and technology. Moreover, he realised, perhaps more than others, the necessity for international action to avert the dangers of war, and responded in particular to the call of small nations for peace and security. Thus, he evolved a policy of positive neutrality to alleviate the ever-growing tension between the two contending Powers and to break the trend of polarization of the lesser powers, by creating what may be called a third force in the world.

The impact of Nehru's contribution to the various fields of his activity will remain for the future historian to evaluate. For the present, we can only say that Nehru is a blessing to all the forces striving for peace, progress and democracy.

Kwame Nkrumah

The Impact That Lasts

As a fighter for colonial freedom, I followed avidly the progress of the revolution which was taking place in India prior to her independence. When the time came for me to do something about gaining the political independence of my own country, it was a natural thing that I should take inspiration from India and her leaders who had so recently had to face and overcome problems similar to those then facing my own countrymen. There was no doubt whatever in my mind that Gandhi's policy of non-violence was the only effective means of dealing with the colonial problem.

I have had for many years the greatest admiration for Jawaharlal Nehru, not only on account of the great work that he, in company with other Indian leaders, was doing for his country, but also, and probably more so, because I respected him as a man of purpose, of courage and determination, and one genuinely dedicated to the cause of India. Owing to one reason or another, I did not actually meet Nehru until the summer of 1957 when we both attended the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London. He invited me to have breakfast with him shortly after he arrived in England.

More often than not, a person whom you think you know so well through his writings, his personal letters and from details given by his intimate friends falls sadly short of your expectations when eventually you come face to face with him. I am a realist. I looked forward to this meeting with him more

than I can say, but two thoughts were uppermost in my mind that morning as my car sped through the London traffic to Kensington Palace Gardens, where Nehru was staying. Would he, I wondered, measure up to the degree of greatness in which I had always held him? Would I, on the other hand, fail to make a good impression on him?

Nehru was all that I had imagined he would be — and more. I could not, of course, answer the second question, but of one thing I am certain: at that moment of our meeting — of our first handclasp — a firm friendship was forged.

It was my first attendance at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and I was feeling very much the new boy, in spite of the very warm welcome that was accorded to me by everyone I met. As a newcomer I decided to observe things at the meetings rather than take part in them — at any rate for the first few days — so that by watching how the older members conducted themselves at the meetings, my "newness" would not be so apparent when the time came for me to participate actively.

At each meeting my admiration for Nehru increased. Some days he barely uttered a word, but with a mere gesture, a nod of his head or by some other sign, he indicated his understanding of or agreement with the matter under discussion. When he spoke, it was always worth listening to, whether you agreed with what he said or not. What he had to say was said with the minimum of words and in the minimum of time, and expressed his views clearly and firmly. It was, I felt, the mark of a wise man.

However, my happiest association with Nehru was in India during my recent visit to that country. I cannot enumerate the many acts of generosity and kindness that he displayed to me, but one stands out particularly in my memory. It was the night that I was leaving by train for the north. I had been warned that it would be pretty cold there and had borrowed an Air Force overcoat for the journey. Shortly before we were due to leave, Nehru unexpectedly arrived at the station looking rather extraordinary in an oversized

overcoat. I could not disguise the look of astonishment on my face when I greeted him.

"Come on, come on!" he said, as he hurriedly pushed me into the railway compartment. "I know it is too big for me, but I think it should be just right for you, and just what you will need in Nangal. Try it on."

I tried it on and it was, as he had said, just right. I put my hands proudly in the pockets and discovered fresh surprises. In one there was a warm wool scarf and in the other a pair of warm gloves.

Again, I felt particularly honoured to be invited on so many occasions during my brief stay in Delhi into the intimacy of Nehru's home. Here, I discovered the family man, the softer and more relaxed Nehru, surrounded by the things he loved most—his daughter, his grandsons, his dogs and his home.

It is most difficult in so few words to write a real appreciation of Jawaharlal Nehru. All I can say is that I myself feel a better, wiser and richer man for having known him.

Lee Kuan Yew

Always a Revolutionary

IN THE English-speaking colonial world Jawaharlal Nehru is a legend. There is no nationalist in the British Colonial Empire, determined to fight for freedom from British imperialism, who has not heard of Nehru. Few might not have read his early writings, but of those who have there is no one who has not been moved by India's struggle for freedom, as he told it.

Great revolutionaries often die soon after achieving the overthrow of the old order. This is perhaps because had they lived on to see the failure of fulfilment that was expected after the revolution they would not continue to be classified among the great. Nehru is one exception. He has had to stand the test of two judgments: first, how well he succeeded in overthrowing the old order and second, whether he has succeeded in establishing a new order which is better than the old.

Almost thirteen years after independence nobody can say that his reputation has been tarnished as a result of attaining power. That is the highest tribute that one can pay to a revolutionary. For, we should never forget that despite the "respectability" which he has achieved since India became independent and he her first Prime Minister, Nehru was, and still is, one of Asia's great revolutionaries.

Ludwig Erhard

A Symbol of Awakening

WHEN a man like Nehru reaches the age of seventy, with a long life of statesmanship behind him, it is only fitting that the whole world should take notice of the event and pause for a moment to recall what the work, what the existence of such a man means to it.

India is a country where many of the lines of world policy converge; hence, the destiny of our age will to some extent be decided there. The strength of its population and its geographical situation alone would suffice to give it weight. India is thus leading those countries which have in the last decade set out to find new political and social ways of life. It is a gain and blessing for the whole world that this task should be entrusted to the sure hands of a man who knows how to build a bridge that links the past and the present with the future.

India is a country with an old culture and a colourful history; it has poverty and wealth, an industrial tradition and an agricultural base that dates back to times immemorial. The experience and insight gained from this set of circumstances made India commit herself to the path of non-violence. In choosing this way, India has decided against both the old Western and the new Red imperialism. It has become a world power which will hold its own with this moral attitude, without weapons or enormous armaments.

This corresponds in home affairs to its decision in favour of human freedom, not freedom from something but freedom to do something: to unleash the full potential of the farming

population so that the farmer, under the guidance of the State and with the common effort of co-operative societies, may produce enough to banish hunger from India; to encourage the activity of entrepreneurs and the industriousness of craftsmen so that the highest and most balanced production may be reached for the benefit of all, and this in both its spiritual and material sense. All these endeavours have gained for India the sympathy and support of the whole world.

Good men all over the globe hope with India that the moral power of non-violence and freedom will secure the future and the peace of India, and with it, perhaps, of the whole world.

Two names are representative of the India referred to in these lines. The names of Gandhi and Nehru, one designating a great historical figure whose influence is still a live force in his country and the other a man who holds the destiny of his people in his strong and wise hands today.

U Nu

A Balanced Approach

THE EARLY decades of the twentieth century were momentous years for our part of the world. Japan shook off her lethargy and developed herself into a modern nation marching shoulder to shoulder with other nations. India embarked on a mission of re-discovering herself, of regaining the place of pride amongst the civilizations of the world which she had held for thousands of years, and convincing herself that India in the modern world had as much to contribute to humanity as she had done in centuries gone by.

This was the struggle into which Jawaharlal Nehru plunged, fresh from his English education and environment. The first step in India's struggle to re-discover herself was to shake off the yoke of foreign domination. Mahatma Gandhi evolved a peculiarly Indian approach to this struggle, through *Ahimsa.* Jawaharlal Nehru saw at once this was the correct approach, and shaking off the inhibitions he had acquired through long years of residence and education in a foreign land, he threw himself whole-heartedly into the struggle. His contribution to the struggle for Indian independence — and his attitude throughout — was as truly Indian as that of any of Mahatma Gandhi's followers. He thus quickly established himself as the idol of his people, as the quintessence of the spirit of independence and of re-discovering India's ancient heritage that permeated India's struggle for freedom.

Jawaharlal's intellectual approach was, however, different from many of his countrymen's. While drawing deeply from

the cultural traditions of the past, he never for a moment let himself and his countrymen forget that history has marched on, and no Indian can be content merely with harking back to his past and failing to equip himself as a citizen of the modern world. He was young in those days and full of vision. He had clear ideas as to what the India of his dream should look like, and the influence he exerted on the younger generation through his numerous writings and personal example created a better realisation of the part India must play in the world. This was his major contribution to India's struggle to re-discover herself.

Secondly, his approach was as highly intellectual as it was emotional. No doubt, Jawaharlal was a man of deep emotions; no one without his emotional appeal could have found a place in the heart of his country that he did many decades ago and retains to this day. But his emotionalism was sobered and guided by his keen intellect, and by his deep study and understanding of the ideas and philosophies which permeated and convulsed the world during the thirty years before the Second World War. He thus became an early convert to socialism — the most dynamic philosophical force of the time. Jawaharlal's second major contribution to India's struggle for freedom was thus to maintain a balance between high emotionalism and cool-headed intellectualism.

These two characteristics asserted themselves fully after India's independence and placed the destiny of this great nation in his hands. They show themselves clearly in Jawaharlal's attitude to communism and economic development. The idealistic aspects of communism had a great emotional appeal for Jawaharlal, as indeed for many of us in the East. But the methods employed by communism to achieve its ends, and the acquisitive ambitions that it developed during and after the Second World War, soon dis-enamoured Jawaharlal and many others in our part of the world. With it also came the growing realization that the communist creed is alien to our soil and Jawaharlal today is a firm opponent of communism in his country.

In the sphere of economic development, Jawaharlal committed his country to a programme of modernisation which alone can assure it of a worthy place amongst modern communities. The success he has had in this field is well known, but the heart-breaks and disappointments he has endured are known only to his close circle and associates. Nevertheless, Jawaharlal has established a balance between emotion and reason in India's economic programmes, which promises her an era of prosperity never known in history.

In foreign affairs also, Jawaharlal has carefully and deliberately moderated his country's emotions by a stern sense of realism. His long association with the Indian struggle for independence and his deep understanding of history made him keenly aware of the fact that no newly-independent nation can preserve its freedom if it allowed itself to be allied with any power group; hence, his firm policy of neutrality for India. Nevertheless, he realised that India cannot exist alone in this world, that she cannot refuse to take a stand in regard to the major issues that arise in world politics, or play an active and positive role in creating understanding between nations. Hence, his policy of positive neutrality. In individual issues, this fine balance between emotion and intellect was most clearly apparent in his recent handling of the Chinese action in Tibet.

He is keenly aware that though the march of history has brought independence to dependent nations, they have not been immune from the interplay of power politics. Attempts by both power blocs to draw the smaller and newly-independent countries into their orbit have been persistent and some have fallen victims thereto. Jawaharlal has been a staunch champion of resisting all such attempts and has successfully withstood all pressure and stood out boldly, despite the many misinterpretations and misunderstanding of his attitude. This attitude has been a source of deep inspiration to many other countries in Africa and the East; his example has been a standing assurance for the maintenance of their own independence and their national self-respect and pride.

I have had the good fortune of associating myself closely with Jawaharlal Nehru since the end of the Second World War and watching him react through many moods. The dominant impression left on me is of a man perpetually drawn between emotion and a superbly cool-headed intellectualism. Many a time — both at conferences and in private conversation — Jawaharlal seemed to be on the verge of being carried away by his emotions, but on each occasion his superb sense of realism and his fine intellectual appraisal of the issues under discussion have pulled him back and the final result has invariably been a sound, unshakable balance. This is his great quality. His undisputed leadership in independent India has enabled Jawaharlal to project this personal characteristic on the sphere of Indian politics; through the world-wide emotional conflict of the post-war years, through the long years of cold war tactics between the two great power blocs, India has stood with her feet firmly on the ground, unswayed and in perfect balance. The balance between emotion and intellect in Jawaharlal's individuality thus projected itself on the individuality of India as a nation and she has as a result acquired a position in the world today unique amongst all newly-independent nations. We hope and pray not only that this balance will continue into the future but that it will be a source of inspiration to all independent nations of Africa and Asia.

S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike

Utterly Dependable

I HAVE known Nehru personally for over 25 years. I first came in contact with him when he visited Ceylon in the early thirties. The first thing that struck me about him was the contrast he presented to his great leader, Mahatma Gandhi who also had visited Ceylon some time earlier. The Mahatma was clearly a son of the people. He was also, although a saint and ascetic, very human with a strong sense of humour. Physically, although he looked frail, he was tough with an almost inexhaustible fund of physical energy. Nehru, on the other hand, is a delicately nurtured aristocrat with high-strung nerves, possessed also of inexhaustible energy, though in his case, it is more nervous energy than physical capacity. It is a fact that he often uses up his nervous energy and that makes him sometimes short-tempered and irritable. I remember a little incident during one of his visits to Ceylon many years ago. We were lunching at an outstation town, Kurunegala, when an admiring crowd was peeping through the doors and windows as we lunched. Nehru turned to us and said, "I can do many things in public but I just cannot eat in public", or words to that effect. I remember saying to myself with some amusement, "There speaks the sensitive aristocrat". We, of course, asked the crowd to withdraw until lunch was over. I suppose in some ways I am qualified to understand such a temperament as that of Nehru. Although he has his outbursts of temper and irritation, he is a most charming personality, and one for whom the more one gets to know him the greater

becomes one's regard and even affection. I look upon him in our personal relations as a friend for whom I have both those feelings.

I wish to say something about another side of Nehru: his position as a public man. He is a great servant of his country and an outstanding statesman of Asia and the world generally. I remember some years ago, at a time when he was not the acknowledged leader of India as he later became, asking a prominent Indian leader who in his opinion was the most outstanding leader after Mahatma Gandhi. He said, "Jawaharlal Nehru." When I further questioned him why he chose Nehru in preference to some others whose names I mentioned, he replied, "Because Nehru is so utterly dependable". I should think that it is this feeling about him that has ensured for him the continuing confidence of the vast majority of his people. Nehru is one of the few statesmen of the world who have a background of culture and learning, and who are thinkers beside being also men of action. Such men are necessary as leaders particularly at a troubled period of world history such as this—men with a background of learning, men who can think clearly, men who can see a problem not merely from one point of view, but in all its aspects and who can come to decisions, sometimes very difficult decisions, with knowledge of factors not only in respect of the past and the present, but also of the future. Nehru has not only a knowledge of history so important for statesmen to have, but something much more than that. He understands the philosophy of history. He therefore has a correct feeling for the trends of the present and the future. At the same time he is a man of courage. As he himself has said, "I may sometimes lose my temper but I never lose my nerve." It is these qualities that make him a valuable servant of India and an important world statesman.

I see that he is sometimes blamed in India for being weak and hesitant on certain occasions. Knowing him as I do, I am inclined to think that this is an entirely undeserved criticism. What to some superficial observers may appear to be weakness or hesitation in him is perhaps really nothing more

than the fact that he likes to take into account all sides and aspects of a question and that he is possessed of that fundamental sense of fairness that makes him capable of seeing the other man's point of view as well as his own before coming to a decision.

He has now reached what is generally considered to be the span of an average man's life: Threescore and ten. He has had a full, varied and distinguished career. His place in history is already assured. He is still, however, full of vigour and energy and neither India nor indeed the world can afford to dispense with the services of a man such as he. May he be spared for many years to come in the service of India and of us all.

Lord Attlee

With Malice Towards None

When a nation achieves independence not infrequently the years that follow are years of disillusion. The leaders in a struggle of this kind are often better at criticism than constructive thinking. Sometimes they are embittered and filled with old resentments and they seek to root out every vestige of the previous regime. Unaccustomed to administration on achieving independence, they empty out, in trying to get rid of their past, the baby with the bath water; rarely is found a man with sufficient breadth of mind and statesmanship to effect a successful transition from the old to a new order.

India, however, was fortunate in finding in Jawaharlal Nehru a man of exceptional character and wisdom.

Several years of imprisonment by the British Government in India had not soured or embittered him. He had the greatness of mind to rise above any pettiness. Understanding both East and West and realising what each tradition could contribute to the future of India he has led his country for nearly twelve years. He understood the vast problems of administering a huge sub-continent. He recognised that Indians who served the old regime as civil servants were as good lovers of their country as those who worked for change. He availed himself fully of their abilities; nor did he rashly smash to pieces a machine of government built up over many decades.

Moreover, there is a great temptation for the leader of a nation emerging from dependence to make himself a dictator. He may through a desire to make rapid progress ignore the

principles of democracy and seek a short-cut. Nehru was too wise to do this. He realised that reforms worked out with the consent of the people are more lasting than those imposed on them by a government from above. He has, therefore, always resisted the temptation to follow totalitarian methods.

As the spiritual heir of Gandhi and with immense personal prestige, he has nevertheless pursued the democratic road. Nationalism is a good servant but a bad master. Carried to extremes it may lead to the fragmentation of a world which needs unity if civilisation is to win through the perils with which it is faced. There was, it seems to me, a danger that India might be fragmented if extreme claims for linguistic reorganisation were conceded. Nehru has had to go some way in the creation of linguistic provinces. Indeed, some alteration of boundaries set up by the British for administrative convenience was desirable, but Nehru has not hesitated to check extremist tendencies. He has faced with courage the difficulties inherent in a multilingual community. Nor has he failed to recognise the danger inherent in any attempt to sweep away entirely the use of English which is in fact the *lingua franca* of democratic Asia.

His domestic policy in India has been in tune with his stand in the international sphere. This was particularly noticeable in his act of wise statesmanship by which he gave the lead for the continuance of India's membership in the British Commonwealth; for, this association with its complete freedom to all its members forms a most valuable link between peoples of different races living in different continents yet united by certain ideals.

I have welcomed the recognition by the peoples of European descent of the claims of the peoples of Asia and Africa to equality in the world, but I have always resisted the idea of self-contained continents looking askance at each other. Nehru has, I think, always recognised this danger. He wants world unity combined with freedom, not just a union of Asia. His attitude has sometimes been misunderstood, particularly in America. His distaste for lining up with the Western bloc has,

I feel, been misunderstood as being due to sympathy with Soviet Russia. Nehru is far too civilised a human being to fall for the arid doctrines of Marxism-Leninism and far too respectful of human dignity to desire the introduction throughout the world of the totalitarian practices of the Russians.

As early as in 1936, when he was much more enamoured of Soviet Russia and much more hostile, owing to his anti-colonialism, to the West than he is today he wrote in his *Autobiography:* "I am very far from being a Communist. My roots are still perhaps partly in the nineteenth century, and I have been too much influenced by the humanist liberal tradition to get out of it completely. This bourgeois background follows me about and is naturally a source of irritation to many communists. I dislike dogmatism, and the treatment of Karl Marx's writings or any other books as revealed scripture which cannot be challenged, and the regimentation and heresy hunts which seem to be a feature of modern communism. I dislike also much that has happened in Russia, and especially the excessive use of violence in normal times."

As far as I can see, Nehru desires that the uncommitted nations, by their non-alignment with one group or the other, should develop enough influence in the world to prevent a world catastrophe and towards that end, he is anxious that India should play a useful part. That, in effect, is the kernel of his foreign policy.

Nehru is today the doyen of the Prime Ministers of the free world. As leader of a great nation what he says and does is of supreme importance to others. He has, of course, made mistakes. No one who does great things does not make them.

I myself have not always agreed with his policies and I have no doubt he would say the same of me, but I have great admiration for his achievements, and respect and affection for him as a great man.

It seems to me that Nehru is a synthesis of the ideas of the East and the West. He understands both. He is a product of the West; and he is also today the leader of the greatest democracy in Asia. It is my profound hope that the contest between

the democratic and the authoritarian world will be fought out not in warfare but in the minds of men and in the ideological sphere. Asia is a battleground of these ideas; and we are lucky that, thanks very largely to Nehru, India stands out in this combat as the champion of freedom, democracy and the rule of law.

Lord Mountbatten

That First Meeting

I FIRST met Jawaharlal Nehru on the 18th March 1946 when he came for a week's visit to Malaya at the time I was Supreme Commander, South-East Asia. He dined alone with my wife and me the first night and our friendship dates from that occasion.

When I went out to India as Viceroy a year later to arrange the transfer of power, his statesmanlike approach, untinged by any bitterness over his long imprisonment in British jails, was of the greatest help to me.

When I remained on as the first constitutional Governor-General of India I was particularly struck by the way he handled the overwhelming problems with which India was faced; what was more, his friendly feeling for Britain and his desire that India should remain within the Commonwealth were evident.

Although we have had no official connection with him since we left India in June 1948, his friendship with my wife and me has enabled us to see quite a lot of one another and to keep touch by correspondence.

For our part both of us have a sincere sympathy and affection for him, and I feel certain that history will accord him an even greater place than contemporary world opinion gives him today.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence

My Successor in Office

WHEN I was appointed Secretary of State for India and Burma in 1945 I realised that some 400 million people were being entrusted to my care — a greater number than that controlled by any other human being except the ruler of China in days gone by. Of course my responsibility was not absolute. I was myself a servant of the Crown and under the authority of the British Prime Minister, and it was the Viceroy who was at the head of the Government of India. All the same, to the extent that it was true it was a solemn and sobering thought. For, the task was immense and bewilderingly complicated.

When I was in India in 1946, conducting with my colleagues the negotiations for the transference of power, Nehru said to me on one occasion, "Do not forget that if you and I come to an agreement, you are laying down a burden and I am picking it up." Today his words have become literally true. The mantle has fallen upon him and, in a much more real sense than it ever was of myself, he is in charge of the destinies of the Indian people who constitute more than half the population of the whole British Commonwealth spread over the five continents of the world.

Moreover, not only is Nehru India's Prime Minister, but he is today by far the most outstanding personality in his country, and is esteemed, obeyed and loved by the vast masses of its people. Nevertheless, powerful as he is, he remains in theory, in practice and, as I am convinced, at heart a democrat.

It has been my privilege and good fortune in the course of a long life to come into close and even intimate contact with

several members of the Nehru family. In my early days as a Member of Parliament, I entertained Jawaharlal's father, Motilal, in the House of Commons. Jawaharlal's sister Mrs. Pandit who is the present High Commissioner in London has honoured me by many a personal talk. His daughter Indira was my charming hostess when I visited India at the end of 1957. She has since been chosen President of the Indian National Congress. I say, without fear of contradiction, of all of them and of the Prime Minister himself that their outstanding quality is single-mindedness. Their selfless devotion to the highest ideals of service places them above personal criticism.

That does not mean, of course, that the policies which the Congress has pursued under Jawaharlal's leadership are free from controversy; it could not be so in the very nature of things. India like all Asian countries has vast problems to contend with, which for centuries have defied solution and which some people even today regard as insoluble. Her poverty, unemployment and under-employment must be seen to be believed. Natural calamities, such as prolonged drought, work havoc with plans for feeding a population increasing ever more rapidly as health conditions improve and the death rate falls. The number and variety of her villages, scattered throughout India, make co-operation and education, urgent as they are, matters of extreme difficulty.

The Congress itself, composed as it is of liberal and conservative elements, is confronted therefore with opposition on both flanks and Nehru standing as I would adjudge somewhat to the left of centre finds himself attacked by communists and socialists for instituting changes too slowly, and by the more privileged classes for moving too fast and for being confiscatory and communistic. Further, the projects of successive Five-Year Plans require vast sums of money which strain the financial resources of the country to the utmost in spite of considerable assistance provided by the Commonwealth and the outside world.

Unshaken by the magnitude of his problems and by the criticisms of his policy from within and outside the Congress Nehru shoulders valiantly his full load of responsibility, and his

tenacity of purpose and patience in exposition command universal respect. It is an experience for a Westerner to attend one of his political meetings and hear him address his audience. Unlike a European or American orator he does not commence on a bold and emphatic note or end with a carefully prepared rhetorical peroration. His voice begins quietly, almost imperceptibly like a piece of Indian music, it rises to a height of passionate pleading and fades away at the end into silence. And his listeners are greatly moved alike by his sincerity and his restraint.

But the great majority of my countrymen and countrywomen are not familiar with the details of the internal political and economic condition of India and her people. Their interest in Nehru is mainly concerned with his pronouncements and activities in the field of foreign affairs. They do not belong to any one party in our land. They include, of course, some who have accepted rather grudgingly the metamorphosis of our Empire into the Commonwealth as well as those who, like myself, regard this transformation as the highest expression of British democracy.

It is perhaps not surprising that the former are the more vocal and in consequence it is their criticism, often ill-informed and unjust, which is reproduced in India as the British reaction. But in fact this is not true. The great majority of the British people do not expect or wish India's Prime Minister to be a yes-man dutifully reflecting all the views and actions of the leaders who at any particular moment hold the reins of government in the United Kingdom. They realise that he is the recognised leader of a very important Asian country and that as such it is not only his right but his duty to give expression to the considered opinions of the most enlightened of his fellow countrymen.

Jawaharlal Nehru is fully competent to perform this duty. He has the courage and the tenacity to tell us when he differs from us and the generosity when he agrees with us. We, in our turn, are entitled freely to express our reactions to what he says or does. But in both cases it must be the criticism of friends and

not of enemies anxious to score off one against the other. That is the essence of our common tradition and knowing Jawaharlal as I do I am confident that as an Asian democrat and a lover of the British people he will uphold that tradition to the mutual benefit of the Commonwealth and to the greater good of human understanding throughout the world.

Adlai E. Stevenson

King with the Common Touch

We live in an age swept by tides of history so powerful that they shatter human understanding. Only a tiny handful of men have influenced the implacable forces of our time. To this small company of the truly great, Nehru belongs.

"The nation is safe in his hands": Those were Mahatma Gandhi's concluding words when he publicly chose Nehru as his heir and successor — because of his bravery, his prudence and discipline, his vision and practicality, his humility and purity.

A quarter of his life Nehru has spent in prison for the same cause our revolutionary ancestors in America pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honour — freedom. Born to exalted station he knows the "art of being a king", yet he has a common touch that excites the devotion and understanding of all kinds and conditions of people, and he has a pen and tongue that stir the hearts of hundreds of millions.

A man in public office can find no surer guide than Nehru. Personal integrity, love of country, lofty idealism, faith in the people and a passion to serve them well, far-ranging vision, these are the qualities by which he commands our respect.

Eleanor Roosevelt

A Man of Character

I AM not really close enough to Nehru to write what I feel would be an adequate appraisal of his achievements but here is something that I would like to say from my heart.

Jawaharlal Nehru's wisdom, his patience, his far-sightedness will be needed in the next ten years as much as they have been in the past. His personal courage as well as his moral courage and his integrity deserve special recognition. He has stood for the things he believed in. We may not always agree with him but it is a wonderful thing to know that the man will stand for the things that he feels are important to his own country and to the world.

Nehru has tried to educate his people in the ways of democracy. This is a tremendous undertaking with a population as great as India's and with a background of illiteracy to start with. His success is already being proved, I think, and not only the Indians but much of the rest of the world owes Nehru a debt of gratitude for his leadership, for his integrity and his courage.

Shukri al-Kuwatly

A Champion of Neutralism

I MET Jawaharlal Nehru twice: once when I had the honour to greet him in Damascus as the guest of Syria in 1957, and another time when I had the pleasure to pay a visit to India in response to the invitation of his Government. I then stayed with Nehru in New Delhi as his guest.

On both occasions I discussed with Nehru at some length many international affairs of interest to the peoples of Asia and Africa; it was an education for me to listen to him.

I was particularly struck by the intimate knowledge he has of the problems of these peoples, knowledge which has made the Prime Minister deservedly earn their respect — a respect which has rarely been enjoyed by any other statesman in the world.

As far as I am able to follow, Nehru's understanding of the problems engaging peoples fighting for their freedom and dignity springs from his humanitarian outlook rather than from belief in any particular political ideology. Deep knowledge and charitable humanism are indeed the two main foundations upon which is based the elevation of men like Nehru, who are not only loyal to their national cause but also to those superior human goals common to all mankind.

Moreover, such men alone can judge with fairness human problems, whether of small or large significance, and by solving them bring about peace and security in the world; they have the breadth of vision that leadership demands.

Among the most admirable qualities of Nehru is his ready disposition to listen attentively to others, though he himself is a wonderful conversationalist. This is a quality of statesmanship of utmost importance as it is the vehicle for consolidating mutual understanding rendering any discussion interesting and fruitful. It marks out Nehru as a great intellectual and brings out the successful diplomat in him. It is also a reflection of his qualities of patience, sagacity and wisdom, which have made him what he is today — a prince among statesmen.

I had the good fortune to listen to Nehru addressing his people in India. He spoke to them with joy and enthusiasm because he was able to communicate to them his deep love. Such communion absorbed him in a kind of spiritual ecstasy. But rambling still marks his speech. Nor is he reluctant to use wit at times. He then captivates his listeners.

Nehru is a believer in world peace, a sincere supporter of justice and freedom, and a staunch champion of positive neutralism. But this neutralism does not signify passivity or isolationism. On the contrary, Nehru intends this positive neutralism to be a genuine call for positive and effective co-operation in dealing with international problems and preserving at the same time all the fundamentals of freedom and sovereignty *vis-a-vis* the various trends of international power politics and groupings.

William O. Douglas

In Line With Manu

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU represents a great tradition in democratic institutions. The roots of the civilization he symbolizes are deep in a history and culture that respects the rights of man and that cater for his individuality and even his idiosyncracies. Some of these influences trace back to India's great classic, the *Bhagavad Gita.* Others can be credited to the Asian jurist Manu who ranks with Hammurabi, Justinian and Coke as a giver of laws. Some of Manu's procedures, like those of Coke, are outmoded today. Ordeal by fire and ordeal by water are rejected in India as well as in the West. But the concepts of justice which Manu espoused are lively forces in Nehru's nation.

There is a story about Manu which may be more fable than fact. But it has a moral that holds good for Nehru today.

It seems there was a quarrel between two farmers over cucumber. Farmer Rahul had planted cucumber seeds that sprouted and produced long vines that extended into Farmer Mehta's yard. Mehta claimed the cucumbers because they were actually within the boundaries of his property. Farmer Rahul claimed they were his because they received their nourishment from the roots in his soil. The matter was brought before Manu for decision. After a heavy argument Manu ruled that Mehta, the neighbour, was right, that the cucumbers were his because they were lying on his land. But the decision bothered Manu and he worried over it for some days. Finally, he concluded that he had been wrong in awarding the cucumbers to the

neighbour. Out of remorse for his error Manu resigned as judge and went into seclusion, hoping by prayer and meditation somehow to atone for his wrong decision.

The story reflects the lively sense of justice that has been vital in India's affairs since independence. India, like other nations, has her faults. But her aim is high and her ideals are bright. She strives hard to respect the command of her Constitution that race, caste and creed are irrelevant in the eyes of legislators, administrators and judges. Individuals can pick and choose their house guests, their companions and their partners as they wish. But the authorities are denied the prerogative of saying that *A* shall not be admitted to college because he is of the wrong caste, or that *B* shall pay higher taxes than other citizens because he practises a certain religion. Moreover, Nehru's government has had a deep concern that the rights of speech, press and assembly shall be available to all groups. While Nehru's government has its own favourite platform, so to speak, it denies to no one the choice of any other *ism*. There is a free market of ideas in India. Regimentation is foreign to Nehru's concept of freedom. The polls are open to all political creeds. The platform is denied to no one.

Nehru has Gandhi's and Lincoln's faith in the common man. He knows — and India's elections are solid evidence of his faith — that literacy and intelligence are not synonyms. The discriminating way in which even an illiterate electorate exercises the ballot has been shown over and again. The 1957 election in Kerala is no exception. For there the communists won out on a fluke by a minority vote.

One of Nehru's most abiding contributions to the survival of democratic law and democratic traditions on the sub-continent has been his campaign against communism. The history of this period will, I think, record that Nehru has been the most effective campaigner against communism of any of our leaders. His speeches unfortunately have not been printed in the Western world. Many of them were indeed extemporaneous. They revealed in vivid terms the meaning of communism if it were applied to the Indian community. The

people of India came to know from Nehru the fateful choice between communism and democracy, the basic difference between India's way of life and Red China's.

The opening scene in the *Bhagavad Gita* has Arjun going out to meet his enemies in battle. As he approaches, he is filled with fear and trembling for he recognizes that these, his enemies, are his ancestors. There is profound psychoanalytic insight in those passages. The enemies of man are indeed within him. They are the same for every race. They play no favourites the world over. The task of all leaders is to summon man as a noble, rather than a base, being. The poet Rabindranath Tagore put this thought in living language:

> Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
> Where knowledge is free;
> Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
> Where words come out from the depth of truth;
> Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
> Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
> Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action —
> Into that haven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

It is that idea that Nehru as lawmaker and politician has been seeking to impress on his own people and to extend to the community of nations.

3

INTIMATE GLIMPSES

This section is a gallery of unusual family portraits of an unusual man, and rare close-up views of him by a privileged few. They bear testimony to the human response of an individual whose life and time are hardly his own to such special situations as a mission of solace to the cheerless and the homeless fleeing a partitioned land, or a whirlwind election campaign or the conscious indifference to comfort in a prison.

Vijayalakshmi Pandit

The Family Bond

THE HARDEST thing in the world is to write about those one loves. I am specially conscious of this because, for many years, I have had a dual relationship with my brother—first as his sister and then as one of his representatives abroad. I have adapted myself to this situation and hope I act objectively in both capacities, but it is not easy. I cannot suppress the feelings that are in my heart.

To begin with, there was too big a gap in years between my brother and me for us to share a common childhood. Both he and I therefore grew up alone. My adult life might well have suffered as a result of this but for the freedom movement which brought us together. It was within the framework of the movement of the early twenties that I first came to know him as a person. Before that, he was "Bhai", the beloved elder brother, but still merely a part of the family which, in the manner of those days, was more important than any single member of it. The nineteen twenties were dynamic days in India full of exciting challenge, and one of the most important and significant dramas of the period was enacted in our own home.

The story of my brother's life is common knowledge but what has seldom been referred to is the way in which he influenced the immediate family circle, not by argument or debate, not by threats and anger, not by an appeal to emotion, but by the force of his own deep conviction that the path he was taking was the right one and the dedication (for

there is no other word for it) with which he sought to fit himself for the great task. It was in these qualities that his influence lay and made itself felt. And yet there was never anything self-righteous about his attitude to others and his sense of humour and the ability to laugh at a joke against himself always kept the family relationship a healthy and happy one. The constant demands of the existing political situation only helped to forge new links which bound us even more closely to each other.

Ours was a home in which there was a great deal of laughter and as a family we teased each other mercilessly and many were the jokes we had at Bhai's expense, calling him *Tyagmurti* and *Bharat Bhushan*, making rhymes and limericks from these titles bestowed upon him by the press and the people. Even the repeated and sometimes poignant partings on his way to jail were treated lightly and in a spirit of fun. Part of this was due to his own dislike of public emotion, but largely because we believed it proper, after having taken a stand, to accept whatever followed in one's stride.

Bhai has inspired me in many ways and I have learnt much from him. What I value most of all is the lesson that life is not lived in little compartments—personal life and public life are both guided by the same principles and one is but the projection of the other. His actions flow from this belief as does his capacity to "lead you to the threshold of your own mind" instead of offering you the wisdom of his own.

There is one memory which never leaves me. It was soon after the breakdown of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Bhai had been arrested, taken to Gorakhpur, tried and sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment. My husband and I were at the trial which, as usual, had ingredients that Gilbert and Sullivan could have used to advantage. After the trial the prisoner was led away from the court-room across the road to the jail. We were permitted to go and say good-bye. He was his usual self, full of assurance about the benefits of a jail term, the speed with which time rushed by, and humorous messages to the younger members of the family. As we walked away,

I turned back for a last look. He stood against the sun which was setting in a great orange ball behind his head. He held the bars on either side and the face so recently full of mirth was serene and withdrawn, and there was infinite compassion in the eyes which no longer saw us. He was already deep in his own contemplation.

I pray that his life may continue in health and strength, that he should know there are many hands to carry forward the torch he now bears, and that India will live in light and freedom.

Krishna Hutheesing

My Brother—Then and Now

I WAS born when my brother was studying in England and though he came home for his vacations now and again I only remember meeting him for the first time in 1912 when he returned for good having finished his studies and taken his Bar examinations.

We were in Mussoorie when Bhai (as my sister and I call Jawahar) was due back. The day he was expected the entire household, specially mother, seemed to be in a fever of excitement. Everyone seemed to be rushing around to see that all was in perfect order to welcome back the beloved son and heir. Left to my own resources and feeling somewhat neglected, I roamed around our large compound wondering why so much fuss was necessary and what this brother of mine was like. After a while I came indoors and took a book to while away the time.

Shortly afterwards I heard the clatter of horses' hoofs, as apparently did others also, for all of a sudden from all parts of the house people came running towards the entrance — my mother, sister, governess, numerous cousins, friends and the servants, all waiting expectantly for Jawahar's arrival. Unnoticed, I pushed my way to the front where I stood in a corner on the steps. The first person I saw riding up the drive was father, and my heart leaped with joy as it always did when I saw him after a few days' absence. Sitting erect on his beautiful bay horse, he seemed to me then as in later years, a perfect specimen of manhood — of good looks, strength and all that was fine in human nature. I hardly noticed the others, for there

were quite a few friends of father's who had gone to Dehra Dun to meet Bhai, till I saw one young man jump nimbly off his horse, run towards mother, sweep her off her feet in a loving but somewhat wild embrace and then turn to others to greet and embrace them. I guessed it was my brother. After a great deal of embracing, as is a Kashmiri custom, Bhai noticed me, took me in his arms and swung me up, kissed me, muttered something about the "baby sister being quite a little lady now" and put me down as abruptly as he had picked me up!

The first few months of my acquaintanceship with Bhai were not too happy, in spite of the fact that he presented me with lovely toys. I lived in constant dread of some new prank he would think of playing on me next, for he loved to tease everyone. When I got on to my pony to go for a ride Bhai would come up behind me, gently whip the pony which naturally got startled and either reared or tried to bolt with me. Then if I showed fright or happened to fall off being taken unawares, Bhai forced me to get on again so that I learnt not to be timid. The training part was all right but many a time when the pony galloped away with me and Bhai laughed, father took him to task. Once he threw me into the middle of our swimming pool and though I was learning how to swim I gasped, swallowed a lot of water and was nearly drowned! It took me many long years to get rid of my fear of water after this incident, but Bhai thought it fun and good training. He believed then as he does even today in doing whatever one does well and wanted perfection in every sphere whether it be work or play.

The years went by; we lived in the same house, met occasionally for meals but Bhai and I remained strangers towards each other, partly owing to the vast difference in our ages and to the strict routine also which my governess made me adhere to. From 1920 onwards when the non-co-operation movement started and Bapu not only changed the face of India but brought drastic changes into our own family, I got better acquainted with Bhai. Our English governess having got married, as also did my sister later in 1921, I was suddenly confronted with a freedom which I had not had before, and as

politics absorbed the whole family, I was left to my own resources. There was no longer a strict daily routine, only lessons with tutors which were most irregular as I had to have them in between visiting father and Bhai in prison or off and on as the political crisis developed. However, as a result, Bhai and I were thrown more often into each other's company. I often accompanied him to nearby villages and heard him spread Bapu's message of non-violence and satyagraha to the people. Young as I was at the time I found him changing gradually, becoming wholly absorbed in politics and slowly beginning not only to understand mass psychology but to feel the thrill of being able to influence them. Yet as Bhai admits in his *Autobiography*, though he took to the crowd and it took to him yet he never lost himself in it. He felt their growing affection and confidence in him as we could see it also, but in those days he often wondered why it was so. He wondered whether the people knew him for what he was or whether he was gaining their affection under false pretences. Bhai's outlook was very different then, when in all humility he believed that his popularity was due to what the masses imagined him to represent and not for what he was himself.

As the political momentum increased we saw less and less of Bhai. He toured a great deal when he was not behind prison bars and had little time to spend with the family. The days were fraught with anxieties, personal as well as political. Father and mother were having a difficult time adapting themselves to new ways of living in their old age, sacrificing not only their wealth, luxurious living and preparing for prison life but constantly fearing for their son's future. My sister-in-law Kamala's health also deteriorated as time went on. Bhai's face lost much of the freshness of youth which he had maintained ever since his return from England. It became thin and pale with tired lines around it but his eyes lost neither their lustre nor twinkle, nor was he ever too weary or engrossed to give a word of cheer to any who needed it. No matter how overburdened or harassed he might be, Bhai always had a smile for others which would warm many a heart in need of comfort.

He always had time to listen to others, to give them his understanding, consolation and encouragement.

The brief periods Bhai spent at home were happy ones for all of us. He needed but a day's rest to feel full of energy. Shedding his political worries he would tease, joke and be full of fun and merriment making our home alive with his presence. His affection was not confined to us, his immediate family, but spread to uncles, aunts and numerous cousins all of whom loved him dearly in return. Father with all his western ideas was a staunch believer in families being knit well together and so with our first, second or even farther removed cousins we looked upon one another as brothers and sisters.

In his spare time Bhai often called me to his room where he sat and read one of his favourite poems to me or made me read aloud to him. At other times he made me work out some mathematical problems which I heartily disliked but he thought necessary for me to imbibe. Even though many a time he lost his temper with me for not grasping a problem as quickly as he thought I should have done, still I enjoyed those hours with him and learnt not only to admire my big brother but to love him and understand his many moods and whims. I had long ago forgotten to be scared of him as I was when a child.

Some of the happiest days I spent were with Bhai in Europe, specially when I travelled with him and he initiated me into becoming 'the perfect secretary'. Life was not only carefree but full of new adventures and experiences all of which helped to bring Bhai and me closer together. I was always very proud to see how people from all parts of the world whom we met at conferences or at the homes of friends succumbed to Bhai's charms. It seemed inevitable for reasons that were obvious that they should do so. But what constantly struck me was his sincerity of purpose, his integrity, high sense of values, his code of honour, loyalty to friends and comrades, attachment to his family and his never-failing consideration towards others as well as his adherence to truth and fair play. I glimpsed many a weakness also in Bhai's character but in spite of it I always felt that no matter what heights he achieved, what honours and

laurels he gained, he would never change. He would always remain the staunch upholder of what was right no matter what the cost and would never give in to anything which was unfair or unjust.

Among his other characteristics one of the chief was never to forget a birthday anniversary or any other special event whether he was in the midst of an A.-I.C.C. session, at the Working Committee, any other gathering or inside prison. Many birthdays of mine came and went with Bhai behind prison walls, but he never forgot any one of them. He either wrote or sent a telegram of greetings. Once in November 1930 he wrote to me from Naini Jail, Allahabad:

"It has occurred to me that the British Government, by issuing an order under Sec. 144 and by subsequently arresting me on the 19th October made me forget a most important event, or rather anniversary, on that day (my birthday according to the Hindu calendar) and the beautiful and artistic gift that I should have made to my dearly beloved little sister, did not materialise. This lapse on my own part was most unfortunate. But I hasten to correct it. Wherefore take yourself to a bookshop, choose some volumes containing the wisdom of the ancients, and the faith of the middle ages, and the scepticism of the present, and glimpses of the glory that is to be, and take them and pay for them and consider them the belated but loving gift of a somewhat absent-minded brother who thinks often of his little sister. And read these chosen volumes and out of them construct a magic city, full of dream castles and flowering gardens and running brooks, where beauty and happiness dwell and the ills that this sorry world suffers from can gain no admittance. And life will then become one long and happy endeavour, a ceaseless adventure, to build the city of magic and drive away all the ugliness and misery around us.

"Au revoir, raton, and look after Papa and yourself and come back fatter and wiser than you went.

Love from your loving brother,

Jawahar."

Another time he wrote from Almora District Jail in 1934:

"Béti darling,

"Though I am writing days before your birthday this letter will probably reach you a few days after the event. Many happy returns, little sister. My thoughts are often with you. I trust you and Raja are well and flourishing, and you are settling down to your new life. Both your letters have reached me and your "Bhaiya Dooj" parcel of sweets and the gorgeous birthday present. The birthday gift is beautiful and of a kind that I can use. But I dare not display such magnificence in public — it would hardly fit in with my reputation or grey hairs! But I like it very much indeed and it is going to cleave to me and be a constant reminder of you and Raja, though reminders are not needed.

With love to you both,
Your loving brother
Jawahar."

Yet another letter written in December, 1940 shows that Bhai was unchanged in spite of the many years of imprisonment, that his affection and concern for his family were ever uppermost in his thoughts. It was written from Gorakhpur Jail with the prison stamp on it as all letters had and with many lines blackened out by the jail censor!

"Béti dear,

"Your letter with Raja's reached me in Gorakhpur Jail. Yesterday I learnt that you had written to the Superintendent here about an interview. I suppose you will get a reply from the jail office.

"Raja and you will of course be very welcome whenever you come here. I should like to see Raja specially as I may not have a chance of doing so for some time to come. I was sorry to learn that he was distressed and rather put out on learning of my conviction. I have seldom felt quite so peaceful in mind as I have done lately, and that is some feat in this mad world of ours. Through some practice I have learnt to draw myself in and shut the various drawers of my mind which relate to activities which have been suspended.

"Raja must not worry at all. He need not think that he is tied down to the National Planning Commission. If he feels like going ahead in another way he should do so, but of course in the proper way this meant courting arrest. There is no hurry. He will have his chance. Meanwhile, he must prepare himself mentally and otherwise, and, during this interval, carry on at the N.P.C. It is important that he should carry on with regular and hard work. In times of excitement there is nothing like work. It would be a good thing if he went and saw Bapu. My love to Raja, to the children and lots to you.

Your loving brother,

Jawahar."

This was the Jawahar of days gone by, the brother whom I believed would never change no matter what heights he attained or what power he wielded over those who idolised him. To me, as to many others as well, he was different from the average man. Not by any means a saint but one who had strong convictions, ideals and dreams that could not be shattered by the influence of those around him, who had no other aim but to serve their own petty ends. But circumstances and may be the paraphernalia that goes with authority and power, changed life for Bhai a great deal. And it has been a saddening thing. Jawahar the rebel had fire and warmth within him which he communicated to those who came in contact with him, which Jawahar the Prime Minister lacks. Too many burdens, none of which he can or is able to share with anyone else, are weighing him down. He seldom relaxes but seems to be obsessed all the time with problems that never seem to get solved. Rarely does one catch a glimpse of the old Jawahar — the loving, considerate brother and friend who always had time for those who went to him for help or guidance. But when one does, on occasions few and far between, one is apt to forget this change that has come about and made him so different, so unapproachable, stern, hard and even intolerant.

Everyone who knew Bhai intimately was aware of the fact that his intellectual richness, his emotional depths and his

sincerity at all times raised him somewhat above the average person. In spite of many mistakes that could have been avoided and the many weaknesses Bhai has given in to, time and again, there is no denying that he has a broad vision of international problems which few people in our country can boast of. His mind knows no barriers and is continuously striving towards new and vast horizons — but to what end? Nehru the Prime Minister no longer remembers or adheres to the ideals or dreams that Jawahar the Rebel had. Once the symbol of all that was above power politics, immune to intrigue or opportunism, he was looked upon as the saviour of his people, but today many question his actions and feel that he can no longer arouse his people as he did in years gone by, for he has allowed himself to be surrounded by those who are known to be opportunists and the entire Government machinery, corrupt and heavy with intrigue, rules the land with no hope of an honest hearing from any quarter. Those who have known Bhai well these many years of stress and strain, suffering and sacrifice, and have worked side by side with him throughout the difficult years of our struggle for independence, today find many of his actions incongruous with his former views and nature. But though their faith is somewhat shaken their affection for him still lingers in the recesses of their hearts. As does the hope that the old Jawahar may soon emerge from the bonds that encircle him, to become once again the idol that India's millions adored, not just the Prime Minister whom crowds line up to have a glimpse of and wave to with awe and reverence.

Yet one fact remains indisputable: that in the eyes of the world Bhai is the only man capable of holding this vast continent together, the only man who could have the power and the vision to lead India to greater heights if he would only try to put back the clock, or, as that is impossible, to retrace his steps backwards and become the old Jawahar again. He can achieve this if he has the strength to break away from the bonds that bind him and are so alien to his nature. Together with a vast majority of our countrymen and women I share the hope that he will still be able to do so in the near future

and that the years ahead will give him new strength, new vigour and an unflinching determination to be his old self again. To see India at the pinnacle of her glory, which Bhai dreams of incessantly, can be achieved by him alone, if he so desires, by being himself — the Jawahar of yore and not merely a tired, over-burdened Prime Minister.

Nayantara Sehgal

Life With Uncle

It was a chilly day at the end of November 1940. From Taylor's Flats, the playing field where our school's annual sports had just ended, we could clearly see the "winter line", the glowing pink band of light that lingered in a bleak sky every evening after sundown, heralding the Mussoorie winter. In less than a month we would be leaving Mussoorie for our Christmas holidays, but meanwhile there were a number of exciting annual festivities before us. Today had marked the close of only one of them.

Tired and happily waving my winnings of the day, a blue and two red ribbons won in the races, I joined my sisters at the entrance to the sports field. Our bearer was waiting for us and as we started up the slope toward the main road he remarked conversationally, "I have just heard in the bazaar that Panditji has been arrested". The excitement of the day was abruptly stilled and we shivered in our sweaters as we trudged quietly along. I handed my ribbons to the bearer and our chatter about the day's proceedings gave way to wondering what the future held in store for us. We had been eagerly looking forward to the holidays. Now we did not know quite what to expect. Mamu (or uncle as Nehru is to me) had been arrested and soon our parents might follow him to prison.

Somewhere beyond the safe, well-regulated sphere of school-days, events were taking place which we only half understood. For the most part they left us confused and dismayed. There was a war on in Europe whose grim course we followed daily

through the newspapers, but suddenly its tremors had been brought very close to home through Mamu's arrest and the reason for it which was later explained to us: He believed, we were told, that India could not assist in a war for freedom while she was a subject nation herself. With him in prison uncertainty clouded our domestic horizon.

We were not wholly unprepared for this state of affairs. Our home and the world outside it had always been closely related. Frequently the turmoil in distant places had shadowed our lives because of Mamu's deep concern with them. Because tragedies like the Abyssinian War, the Civil War in Spain, and Hitler's march on Poland and Czechoslovakia had been personal sorrows to him, we had been keenly aware of them too. Like every human being before him who has truly believed that all men are brothers, Mamu paid a price for that belief and could not remain unmoved by the trials of other men. He must have sensed from time to time our bewilderment at the rapidly varying emotional climate of our childhood, for wisely he had provided us with a secret, and he assured us, magic formula to be repeated in time of need so that we would not be upset by any unpleasantness around us. Thoroughbreds, he had told us, did not cry. So we had remembered our secret and taken pride in our stoicism. It had, in turn, repaid us in ample measure, teaching us that we were part of a larger whole, loved and cherished as children, but required to respond with intelligence and vigour to all that went on around us. In such an atmosphere there was no room for the timid and the self-indulgent and we had exerted ourselves to be as much as possible like Mamu. I do not think there was anything unusual or sentimental about our admiration for him. He was, quite simply, the most wonderful person we knew, and children have an unerring instinct for singling out wonderful people for their devotion.

Cheering up as we walked along that November evening, we bought paper cones of piping hot *channa*, and with the uphill walk and a cold wind whipping colour into our faces, we were soon our talkative selves again. In about a fortnight's time the

holidays would begin and we would be going home to Allahabad. Whatever happened, whether our elders were with us or not, we would be at home in "Anand Bhawan".

That winter marked the beginning of a political crisis in India, and with the jail-going programme begun once again, the house was soon deserted by its adult members. Adjusting ourselves to this situation, my sisters and I gradually settled down to a vacation in an empty house. Yet being home, it was never, for us, quite empty. The rich tapestry of living that had been woven by its grown-up occupants through the years lay over it like a peaceful, protective mantle and we discovered we were not lonely. We looked forward to the grown-ups' return but we did not feel they were far from us, especially Mamu whose own home it was. We had grown up in his house, adopting it as our own, since our parents, along with him, had chosen to follow Gandhi and lead unpredictable lives marked by long absences at work or in prison. In our own small way we emulated Mamu as best we could by making his values our own. It was true we did not see him often, because he was so seldom at home, but even when absent he had for us a more vivid reality than many of the people we saw every day.

"Anand Bhawan", when he was there, besides being besieged by visitors, hummed with that special pleasant hum that houses have when they are sheltering those they love best. One of the great thrills of childhood was the sight, constantly repeated, of thousands of people coming to "Anand Bhawan" to see the house and get a glimpse of Mamu, and of the intimate bond of friendship and affection that invariably characterized every such occasion. There was never about those crowds the hush of reverence or awe. They were noisy, clamorous, full of high spirits, but never silent. It was as if those pilgrims who had come, many of them footsore, from every corner of India to bathe in the Ganga, had also made it their friendly duty to call on a neighbour. And as he stood there in homespun khadi, smiling at them and asking them questions about their journey and their impressions of the miles they had travelled, he was, if not actually a neighbour, a familiar and well-loved figure.

They knew he spent most of his days travelling over the length and breadth of India visiting her people and trying to understand them. It was only natural that they should call on him when they visited his home.

His irrepressible good humour delighted us, as on a certain New Year's eve when there was a party at the house and thirty or forty guests thronged the drawing room. Among them was the principal of a girls' college and long-time friend of the family. This lady had a fondness for big, bright flowers and several always adorned her hair. That evening Mamu was clearly fascinated by them. After dinner the guests assembled in the library to play "Murder". The "murderer", chosen by drawing lots, was known only to himself. He was expected to murder someone and when the lights went on, to submit along with the others to cross-questioning by a "detective". While the others were obliged by the rules of the game to answer all questions truthfully, the "murderer" could lie as blatantly as he chose, the object being to mislead the "detective" and keep his own identity from being revealed. The lights were turned off, and after a moment or two of anticipation, a shrill scream pierced the darkness. When my father switched on the lights the lady with the flowers in her hair was found "murdered" on the sofa, her flowers rakishly askew. Mamu, pleased with his effort, did not wait to be cross-questioned, but sheepishly confessed to the "murder", adding he had not been able to resist dislodging the cannas in the lady's hair. The victim laughed as heartily as the rest, and the New Year was ushered in with more games and laughter.

A child's business is to grow, physically, spiritually, emotionally, and growth relies on love. It also relies on a sturdy core of unshakable faith in the order and rightness of his small world, no matter how great the disorder without. Our private world, as children, was chaotic by conventional standards. We were brought up haphazardly in the care of a succession of governesses. Our parents were rarely with us. But there was the belief that our parents, like Mamu, were dedicated folk and that the cause to which they were devoted

was also ours. What Mamu achieved in the nation, he achieved on a miniature scale in our young lives, setting the standard we were to follow and holding us to it. And because we saw that he was courageous and incorruptible, we were ashamed when we fell short of his belief in us. Now, with childhood long past, that standard still persists, and his belief in us is still a guiding factor in all our actions.

I can say of him as Alcibiades said of Socrates: "But he has often brought me to such a pass that I could hardly endure the life which I am leading. . . and I am conscious that if I did not shut my ears against him and fly from the voice of the siren, my fate would be like that of the others — he would transfix me, and I should grow old sitting at his feet. For he makes me confess that I ought not to live as I do, neglecting the wants of my own soul. . . And he is the only person who ever made me ashamed, which you might think not to be in my nature, and there is no one else who does the same."

B. C. Roy

An Elder's Estimate

It was at a public meeting in the Calcutta Maidan, I could scarcely realise why, as I spoke, about a million people present there suddenly burst into laughter. Did I say something funny? Yes, I did. Jawaharlal was by my side and I had referred to him as "my old friend Motilal Nehru". It was in 1957. I explained it away by saying that I had known old Motilal even before I came to know young Jawaharlal and I still saw in him the image of my old friend of revered memory, his father, Motilal. The truth is since the early twenties, I had become almost a member of the Nehru family; and since then I have known Jawaharlal.

Nehru's father was a handsome man — sensitive, affectionate but always unyielding. Jawaharlal is more handsome, often more affectionate, very much more sensitive, but he is also in his dealings with others more generous — generous even to a fault at times. He takes human failings in the natural order of things and, therefore, sometimes ignores them. But he is uncompromising with those who lack faith or are devoid of will and effort. He always approaches both his friends and others, as he himself says, "with a good heart and spirit without ill-will even with regard to those who oppose me".

Jawaharlal is a man of destiny, but he is lonely even in the midst of crowds who deeply love him but do not always understand him. This is so because Jawaharlal is different from others. Though trained in the West he does not belong to the old world of Europe — as some ungenerous critics

seem to think — but his is the voice of the still older world of India and Asia; a voice which belongs to the ancient civilisation of the East — very much distinctive and very much vital, but which has renewed itself from the experiences of contact with other countries in the present times. That is why it is a voice which has deep roots in the past and still has the dynamic urges of both today and tomorrow.

Jawaharlal's is a difficult personality to understand especially for those who have not known him well. Sometimes such people may differ from him until they meet him, but they invariably agree with him once they talk to him. The secret is that he tries to understand their viewpoint as much as he persuades them to understand his. Jawaharlal's approach to every problem is broadly human and based on truth and tolerance. When you leave him you come out with a feeling that you have scored most of your points, but in reality he knows that he too has not lost any of his own. He is accommodating yet uncompromising — truly as Motilal had said of him even as far back as in 1920: "I would neither wish nor expect him to yield on a question of principle."

I am often asked by the younger people — and also as a medical man—what is the secret of Jawaharlal's eternal youth, his ever joyous mood, and his alert, clear and analytical mind?

It is difficult to answer this question but I have a feeling that it is Jawaharlal's wonderful capacity to adjust himself to every environment. When he is with little children, he is one of them. He tickles them, plays with them and talks to them in their language and of things which they love and can understand. When with the youth he shakes off fifty years of his age and is full of energy — he would scale barriers, even climb lamp-posts, run and jump and skip with them and give such a hearty laugh to them that he becomes one of the youth. With the tribal people he would don their fancy costumes and even join in their dances. When addressing the masses he would speak to them of their problems in an easy, conversational style and carry every one of them with him. With diplomats he discusses serious world problems, with politicians

matters of politics, with the scientists of latest researches and discoveries, with industrialists of modern production methods and with the women even of housekeeping. He is at home in every place at all times. Incidentally, while talking to doctors he always says he understands very little of drugs, herbs and pills, for he seldom takes any medicine. Jawaharlal is free from the strain of meeting people and, therefore, at all times he is happy and relaxed. He radiates youth and joyousness, which he carries with him wherever he goes, and he infects others with them. That is why Tagore once said that Nehru is "a person greater than his deeds and truer than his surroundings".

It was a philosopher perhaps who once said that most ills in this world come from the fact that we remember things we should have long forgotten and that we forget things which we should have always remembered. Then there is something equally strange about the human mind. It is not our capacity to remember that is important, but the capacity to forget as and when we want. Memory is like a series of pigeonholes where experiences are sorted and stored. If the mind can be so trained as to open one pigeonhole at a time one can concentrate on things, think clearly and avoid the confusion from which most people often suffer. The capacity to draw on one thing at a time and forget the rest is not a yogic feat but a result of serious training. When you want to relax and rest for a while and banish worry, you should close all the pigeonholes. Then you are happy. This is exactly, I think, how Jawaharlal's mind works. He can concentrate and yet not let anything oppress his mind or even linger on and make him unhappy. He deals with thousands of problems and prepares himself for a new problem every few minutes; yet he is never tired, never wanting in sympathy. This is the secret of his vitality, his youth, his radiant energy.

Jawaharlal today carries a heavy burden as the first pilot of the ship of state. As he himself once said, "The hardest sentence you can give to any individual today in India is to put him in a seat of authority." What Gandhiji said when

Jawaharlal became Congress President in 1929 is as true today as it was then, "It never was to be a crown of roses. Let it be all thorns now."

I cannot do better than sum up my feelings in the words of Sarojini Naidu, who shared both his pride and pain on that occasion and wrote to him:

"It is both your Coronation and Crucifixion—indeed the two are inseparable and almost synonymous in some circumstances and some situations: they are synonyms today especially for you, because you are so sensitive and so fastidious in your spiritual response and reaction and you will suffer a hundredfold more poignantly than men and women of less fine fibre and less vivid perception and apprehension, in dealing with the ugliness of weakness, falsehood, backsliding, betrayal... all the inevitable attributes of weakness that seeks to hide its poverty by aggressive and bombastic sound ....I feel that you have been given a challenge as well as offered a tribute: and it is the challenge that will transmute and transfigure all your noblest qualities into dynamic force, courage and vision and wisdom. I have no fear in my faith."

Lal Bahadur Shastri

An Election Episode

To WRITE about Nehru is a difficult task; one does not know where to begin. He has functioned so remarkably and in so many fields and capacities, that his position today is unique not only in his own country but in the whole world. I would not, however, deal here with his greatness as a leader. As a co-worker in his home district of Allahabad and as one who has been associated with him all these years during the pre- and post-independence era, I would like to recall some little known things about the man and his temperament.

I remember the years between 1936 and 1938 when the Congress was not in power, and our movement had weakened somewhat and some slackening in our work had crept in. The Government was determined to suppress the national struggle and believed that they would more or less succeed. But the sustaining and also the resisting capacity of the Congress organisation was great. Further, there was a tremendous desire and urge amongst the people to help and advance the cause of freedom for which it stood unequivocally; though depressed, people were anxious to march forward. Nehru was one of those whom they looked up to for guidance; their faith in him was unshakable.

Meanwhile, the general elections under the new Government of India Act took place in 1937; they were of great significance. The Government, as usual, underrated the hold of the Congress on the people and thought that it would not be able to win many seats. All the Rai Bahadurs and Khan Bahadurs and Rai

Sahebs and Khan Sahebs — I know of the situation in the U.P. specially — had given a categorical assurance to the British Governors that the Congress would not be able to secure many votes, much less a majority in any province. However, the Congress had more faith in the people and in the courage of its convictions. In these elections Nehru played a very important role. He had visited different provinces and cities many a time before, but his election tour in 1937 was something unique. It was a whirlwind tour in the true sense of the word. He travelled by plane, train, car, tonga, bullock cart, bicycle and in some places even on foot.

I remember his visit to the district of Allahabad. There were three candidates standing for the U.P. Legislative Assembly: one was K. N. Katju, another R. S. Pandit and the third myself. The workers of the district were naturally very keen that Nehru should visit all their respective areas. I being the Secretary of the District Congress Committee at that time was specially asked to obtain the acceptance of Jawaharlal for this purpose, which I did. I tried, however, not to draw up too heavy a programme for him but the workers of Katju's constituency were insistent that he should visit the largest number of places. Jawaharlal had only two days at his disposal for the district. Accordingly, I arranged his programme for the first morning in Katju's constituency from where he was to return by about lunch time and then after four in the afternoon he was to visit my constituency. Next day was fixed for his visit to Pandit's constituency.

Jawaharlal returned to Allahabad at dead of night from his tour of other provinces; it was past two in the morning. A number of workers from Allahabad district were present at the station to welcome him. As soon as he got down from the train he was shown his next day's programme. He naturally got upset over it, as it involved long journeys from one village to another where there were not even good roads. He was annoyed, and hence everyone avoided taking the responsibility for having drawn the programme. I took courage and said that it was I who had done it. It was then that for the first

time, I heard him speak to me in a displeased tone. He said, "I had great faith in Lal Bahadur's wisdom but I am getting somewhat sceptical about it." I assured him that there was no reason to be upset and that the programme would be curtailed as he liked.

Next morning he left for Katju's constituency. He was delayed there much beyond our expectations and could return only about 4 p.m., two and a half hours later than the scheduled time. I was all the time anxious, and worried about the delay. At one place where his car could not move forward he got down on a dusty road and ran for about a mile through the milling crowd. Nehru told me that other workers had also to run after him and humorously said that Shivaji (Katju's eldest son) was completely exhausted and found it difficult to keep pace with him. Finally when he returned he was full of dirt and dust, and was exhausted. As soon as he got down from the car the first thing I told him was not to go to my constituency but to drop the idea altogether. It was not an easy offer to make because meetings had been arranged at a number of places and people were waiting in thousands. Nehru was a bit surprised at this suggestion but I felt so happy when he agreed. His sister Vijayalakshmi was good enough to accompany me to address some of the meetings, from where we could return only by about ten that night; we saw hundreds and thousands of people waiting at different places in the terrible cold having come from long distances and with the knowledge that they would have to do the return journey on foot at dead of night, being disappointed at the absence of their hero.

Again, Jawaharlal in his anger on the first day had said that he would not go the next day to R. S. Pandit's constituency. Naturally Pandit was somewhat worried. When we returned from the villages late at night Pandit met me and said that I should speak to Jawaharlal and get his consent for visiting his constituency the next day. He said it was essential because he was standing in a constituency a sizable part of which was very backward, and his opponent was one of the Rajas and Zamindars of that area. I spoke to Nehru

and told him to adjust his programme so as to be able to visit Pandit's constituency. He agreed. Pandit had such high regard for Nehru that he would not say a word to him when he found him displeased in any way. In fact he suggested that I should accompany him to his constituency along with Nehru that day. The visit to Pandit's constituency was completed happily and so ended Jawaharlal's two-day tour of Allahabad district.

A few days later I received a telegram from Jawaharlal from somewhere in Gujerat asking me to arrange a visit to my constituency. I was not expecting it but he, it seems, remembered how I had cut out his visit to my constituency during his last tour of the district. Although I did not want to trouble him, exceedingly busy as he was, I was happy to arrange a few meetings for him in my constituency just two days before polling was to commence. The same day at the insistence of the District Congress Committee of Mirzapur, an adjacent district of Allahabad, I arranged for Nehru's visit there also. He started on his journey to my constituency about 2 p.m. from Allahabad. He finished the meetings in my constituency by about 5 p.m. Then we proceeded to Mirzapur. Nehru addressed several meetings in the rural areas before he arrived in the city of Mirzapur. It was about 7 p.m. when he reached there and he was taken straight to a public meeting. It was one of the biggest meetings ever held in that city. As soon as Nehru went to the platform the crowd started coming closer and closer to the platform. It was a regular sea-saw affair, hundreds of people trying to move forward and others sitting nearer the platform trying to resist them. The organisers of the meeting started shouting and asking people to remain quiet. Nehru was astounded to get a reply from the organisers that there were no loud-speakers. He asked them whether they were aware of such things as loud-speakers and microphones. He was very irritated and upset and said in anger, "Allahabad was not very far away from this place; yet you had no sense to arrange for these things. In fact you seem to be living in the 16th century." The workers tried their best

to stop the people from making noise and to persuade them to remain in their seats. All efforts, however, failed. Nehru was angry as the workers had shown no sense of responsibility and felt that the people were not at fault. He ultimately said, "All right, now you all sit down and I shall deal with the situation." While we were just looking at him, all of a sudden he jumped down from the platform; he landed on the people and went on moving over their heads from one place to another for a few minutes asking them to remain quiet. Curiously enough, it had a lightning effect and I heard people saying, "Panditji is angry and is running away. Let us sit down," and after the lapse of a few minutes order prevailed at the meeting and Nehru's speech was heard by the big concourse of people for about an hour without any further disturbance.

It was about 8-30 p.m. when he finished his speech. As soon as he had done so, he enquired from the local Congressmen whether he could leave. Pat came the reply, "Yes, sir." The three of us got into the car and left. After having driven about a furlong Jawaharlal said that the Congress workers of Mirzapur had no sense of hospitality. "I said I wanted to go and they agreed to it without even offering me a cup of tea." Nehru had taken no tea in the afternoon and as he has always maintained good health, he was feeling very hungry. He asked me whether there was any restaurant in the city. I said there was none. Then I remembered the railway station where some tea could be got. He said, "Let us go there." We motored to the railway station and went to the railway restaurant. There was nothing there except some tea and a few pieces of bread. After having taken the tea we were asked to pay the bill. Everyone of us searched his pockets and found that none of us carried sufficient money. Between us we could collect about two and a half rupees. Nehru had about a rupee and a quarter, Mrs. Purnima Banerjee another rupee and I gave the few annas to complete the full amount required. How awkward would it have been if we had failed to make up the amount amongst ourselves!

We started on our journey back to Allahabad. It was about 9 p.m. then. Jawaharlal asked me how I liked his feat at the public meeting. I said, "It was very lucky that you moved on from head to head and did not fall. It was really a novel feat." I said that the only embarrassing thing was that he had his shoes on when he was performing this feat. He said he himself felt ashamed about it and was thinking of it all the time at the meeting.

I was somewhat surprised that no arrangement should have been made for some tea when Jawaharlal went to Mirzapur; this was rather unusual. I made enquiries later and was told that everything was ready, not only tea but plenty of things to eat, yet the workers had not the courage to ask Nehru to go to the place where it was arranged. They were completely flabbergasted by what had happened earlier and felt mortally scared to ask him to spend a little more time over there. It was indeed an irony of fate. When the workers knew about our visit to the railway station they felt ashamed and hurt.

Proceeding further in our tour, Nehru said he would like to drive the car. The owner of the car, Mrs. Purnima Banerjee, requested him not to take the trouble as he must be feeling tired. He, however, insisted. She said that he might not be able to drive it well. Nehru said, "Look at her cheek and the reflection that she is making." He took over the car from her and we reached Allahabad by about 11 that night. I requested Jawaharlal to get down at "Anand Bhawan" from where I would go to my house but he did not agree and said he must reach me home. As it was getting late he started driving fast and unfortunately a cow was struck by the handle of one of the doors of the car. The cow was injured, especially a part of her horn. There was no one there, yet Jawaharlal stopped the car and went near the cow and asked me what should be done. We waited there for about ten minutes. Meanwhile, some people came over and the owner of the cow also came. As soon as they saw Nehru they all said that we need not bother; we, therefore, went our way but before leaving Jawaharlal noted the name and address of the owner of the cow. He first dropped me at my place and

then went back to "Anand Bhawan." Next morning he sent about Rs. 30 to the owner of the cow for its treatment. Thus ended a most interesting journey of about nine hours, which is still green in my memory.

Today Nehru's political stature and leadership is very high and fully recognised; but even in those days he was no less great, and as human as he has always been. That is why he continues to hold such fascination for millions of people in India!

Amrit Kaur

A Friend Without Friends

It has been my proud privilege to have become acquainted with Jawaharlal when we were both very young and to have had this acquaintanceship grow into staunch friendship as time passed and we both also advanced in years.

I have therefore known him as an attractive youth with the marked impress on him of Harrow and Cambridge, later as an ardent fighter for India's political freedom, imbued with all the enthusiasm and vigour and idealism which have not deserted him even today, and then as Prime Minister of free India with the additional relationship of a colleague in his Cabinet for ten years.

It was but natural that my close association with Gandhiji should also have given me the opportunity of coming near to Jawaharlal and I was privileged to understand Gandhiji's love for and understanding of him. I use the word 'understanding' advertently for Jawaharlal is not an easy person to know. His is a complex personality and I have always felt that by nature and instinct he is far more a man of letters, an artist and thinker, than a politician. But Providence has decreed otherwise for him. Gandhiji, however, had the rare gift of probing deep into a person's mind and character, and his opinion of people was therefore uncanny and rarely wrong.

I well remember an occasion when Jawaharlal with his usual vehemence had spoken roughly, as I thought, to Gandhiji. When he left the room I asked Bapu why he tolerated such a show of temper. Quick came the reply: "You do not

know Jawaharlal as I do. I never mind his temper because I know there is no untruth in it. With all his anger and intolerance he is what his name signifies — a 'jawahar' i.e. a jewel." And I have no doubt in my mind that it was this belief in his integrity that made Gandhiji name Jawaharlal as his political heir.

Jawaharlal, like all human beings, has his failings as well as his virtues. I myself have been drawn to him through the years by his integrity of purpose, his unfailing devotion to duty, his ability to work for an ideal without counting the cost, his abhorrence of anything that savours of injustice or cruelty, his complete freedom from any racial or religious prejudice, his sensitive nature which appreciates beauty, whether of nature or of the arts, his loyalty to friends, his facile and enchanting pen, his love of women and children, his courageous, adventurous and ever youthful spirit, his love of truth, his freedom from malice, and his tender-hearted and very affectionate nature. Fortune has favoured him with good looks and his intelligent mind has grasped every opportunity that has come his way for acquiring knowledge. He was born with the proverbial silver spoon in his mouth but that has not made him oblivious to the wants of others.

I am sure it is these qualities which have endeared him to the millions in our country who have been willing to leave their welfare to his tender care. And I can truly say that during my ten years of work with him as a minister in his Cabinet, I found these qualities of head and heart help him to rise again and again above party politics and narrow prejudices. Speaking of help in my own difficult task, I had the utmost sympathy, understanding and strong support from him. Once Jawaharlal recognises that the worker has no personal axe to grind, he is always willing to help. What I valued greatly in him was his quick and favourable reaction to new ideas provided these were likely to serve the poor and the needy. I would never have been able to get the Contributory Health Service Scheme through if it had not been for his unstinted support. His sympathy with suffering humanity is genuine and not merely a political

slogan. The same may be said of all the social reforms that are now on the Statute Book. They would, most of them, have been talked out if it had not been for Jawaharlal's powerful advocacy of and insistence on them. At all times I sensed in him a desire and an urge to do right and I therefore loved working for and with him.

But as a friend it would be wrong to be blind to some of Jawaharlal's weaknesses. He is not a good judge of character and is therefore easily deceived. He is not averse to flattery and there is a conceit in him which makes him at once intolerant of criticism and may even warp his better judgment. His very loyalty to friends blinds him to their faults. For this very reason he is not ruthless enough as a leader and his leadership is weakened thereby. To my way of thinking, however, by far the greatest lack in him is his inability to believe in God. I continue to wonder why this should be so for no one believes more sincerely and deeply in Goodness and Truth and Love than does Jawaharlal. I also continue to hope that for him some day faith will transcend reason and that belief in God will come to his rescue and be for him the anchor that it has been for so many great men during periods of storm and stress, whereby they were able to face and surmount crises.

No Prime Ministership of any country today is a bed of roses. India in particular is passing through deep waters. Much of the fate of Asia depends on whether Jawaharlal can steer her successfully to the haven of peace and prosperity. Jawaharlal is dynamic and progressive. He has often to steer a course, probably every politician has, different from his inner urge simply in order to keep the party machine together. The party consists of many who are not always in favour of progress such as Jawaharlal is wedded to. Between the extreme right and the extreme left it is not so easy to find the *via media*, especially for one who is against violence and is a true believer in democracy.

In the balance Jawaharlal's virtues and fine qualities of head and heart far outweigh his weaknesses. By the very nature of his position and also perhaps by reason of circumstances

and his own temperament he is today a lonely man. It is the duty of all to extend to him both sympathy and understanding. The years lie lightly on Jawaharlal. Long may they continue to do so and may God grant him to see fulfilled in large if not full measure his life's ambition — a happy and prosperous India and a peaceful world.

Syed Mahmud

In and Out of Prison

THE FIRST time I came into contact with Jawaharlal Nehru was at Cambridge in 1909. The occasion was a casual introduction to each other in the University Union. He was in a pink shirt, with socks and tie to match, as was fashionable in those days with under-graduates. This was on November 14, which I came to know subsequently was his birthday. The jotting under this date in the diary which I maintained during my student days in England runs: "Today I met a charming young man in the Union. He comes from Allahabad, and is the only son of a leading lawyer. I was attracted towards him. He is soft-voiced, dignified, quiet, has manners of an upper-class Englishman."

I did not find anything unusual in him to make me think he would rise to the great eminence which he enjoys today. There was, however, something undefined in his face and deportment which strongly attracted me.

The name of Jawaharlal's illustrious father, Motilal Nehru, was familiar to me even before this formal meeting with his son, for I had stayed in a small bungalow just in front of their residence in Allahabad for a couple of months after my expulsion from the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, along with my friends, Tassaduq Ahmad Khan Sherwani and Abdur Rahman Bijnori. This was as the result of our having led a strike of students against the English staff at the college in 1907, which lasted five months.

From 1909 to 1959 is half a century. It is an age in itself, an age in which India has had to struggle for her destiny and

emerge as a free nation. In this gigantic process, Jawaharlal has played a glorious part. For the greater portion of this long period, our association, particularly in the political field, has been so close that I cannot recollect any past political activity of mine except in relation to his own. Whether as a privileged inmate of "Anand Bhawan" for lengthy periods, where I was generously treated as a regular member of the family, or as a comrade in the struggle for India's freedom living together at intervals in prison, I came to look upon him as a noble friend and a loving brother. To give a picture of what I know of him is as difficult for me as to draw my own picture as I know myself. One living perennially under the glare of a floodlight cannot give a graphic description. My impression of Jawaharlal is essentially a matter of feeling; and if any one should ask me to describe what he is like as I know him, I can only reply to him: "Feel as I have felt and you will know what he is as I know him."

There is a further difficulty in my way. Jawaharlal is a world figure and a household name in our own country. He is so well-known a personality that it will look ridiculous to present him in any formal manner.

Having completed our studies in Europe, Jawaharlal and I returned to India in 1912. Both of us had been called to the bar. But our hearts were not in the profession. Jawaharlal, however, had undoubtedly the talent to succeed in the line. Indeed, once his father engaged him to prepare a case for him, perhaps in the second year of his practice. The note put up by him, it appears, appealed to the legal acumen of the grand old man so much that a sum of Rs. 2,000 was paid as remuneration. But Jawaharlal's heart yearned for active work in the political field. Similar was my case though I prospered at the bar. Jawaharlal kept up the show of the legal profession waiting for an opportunity to throw himself into politics. This opportunity came with the formation of the Home Rule League by Mrs. Besant in 1918. Straightway, he joined the movement. I followed suit.

When he was arrested in 1921 for the first time, the country's attention was drawn towards him, particularly of young men.

Since then, every week and every month has increased the number of his admirers.

Before I joined the non-co-operation movement, I used to travel by rail in a first class compartment. On joining it and looking at those who guided it, a change came over me. I started travelling second class, and remained at this level for some time. When I found Jawaharlal travelling third class, my false pride gave way further and I followed his example. Even while travelling third class, I felt shy in buying eatables on the platform and used to take my food in the dining car or the station refreshment room. But when travelling together, Jawaharlal probably noticed my hesitation and shyness in buying eatables from vendors on the platform and would go out of the compartment to buy things and bring them in his hands. After he had done so a few times, I felt ashamed and my attitude changed. This is how he was responsible for curing a weakness of mine.

Jawaharlal's love of service to others has been a natural trait of his character. While travelling, I used to take a servant with me. Once he asked me why I felt the need for one. I replied to him that I hated spreading and folding my bed on my berth, particularly in winter. Thereafter, whenever we travelled together, he used to spread and fold my bed for me. In spite of my remonstrance, he would never yield to me and insisted on doing this every time. This went on for years and I feel the more drawn to him whenever I think of it. Further, whenever we had to travel in the higher class compartments, he never allowed me to sleep on the upper berth. He always occupied the upper berth himself leaving the lower one to me.

In 1942 Asaf Ali and I were initially put in the same room during our imprisonment in Ahmednagar jail. But a little while after, Jawaharlal thought that he should keep me company. So he changed places with Asaf Ali. The fact is that in those days I was not in good health and he wanted to take care of me. Indeed, when my condition grew worse, he used to bring my food in a tray from the kitchen and take back the used utensils himself. This continued for months. In jail,

I once observed fast for the whole month of Ramzan. Out of consideration for me, Jawaharlal used to prepare my "Aftar"—eggs, toast and tea. Such was Jawaharlal's role as a comrade.

In 1922 there was internal tension in the camp of the Indian National Congress. The question was whether the Congress programme should be pursued through the legislative councils or not. Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali brothers were in jail. The top-ranking leaders outside jail were not of one mind. Rajagopalachari, Vallabhbhai Patel and Rajendra Prasad were leaders of the extreme "no-changers", while C. R. Das, Ajmal Khan, Motilal Nehru and Abul Kalam Azad led the "pro-changers". In between, there were those who, though themselves "no-changers", took a middle view and wanted the Congress to allow the "pro-changers" to try their programme through the councils. Among these were Ansari, Jawaharlal Nehru, Purushottam Das Tandon, T. Prakasam and myself. We had come to hold this view because we had grown sick of the bitterness with which the controversy was conducted between the two leading groups. Jawaharlal's father was a leader of "pro-changers" while he himself was a "no-changer". Jawaharlal had great faith in Gandhiji and his methods, while the "pro-changers" had lost temporarily part of their faith in them. There was, sometimes, a heated controversy between the father and son.

In 1923 I had a letter issued on behalf of Jawaharlal, Ansari, Purushottam Das Tandon and myself, asking those who supported our view to meet in Bombay on the eve of an A.-I.C.C. meeting. This letter was published in the *Swarajya* of Madras, which was then conducted under the editorship of K. M. Panikkar, just a few days before the All-India Congress Committee was scheduled to meet in Bombay. A large number of those who were "unorthodox no-changers" threw their weight in favour of a change. The result was that the "no-changers", who were till then in a majority, suddenly found themselves in a minority. C. R. Das called this group as the Centre Party: Jawaharlal protested against the use of the term "centre party". The anomaly of the situation was that while C. R. Das the

leader of the "pro-changers" was the President of the Congress, his executive consisted mainly of "no-changers". The situation grew untenable when the "no-changers" in the Working Committee resigned, as also C. R. Das, the President. It was in a situation such as this that Ansari was called on to become the President and form his own Working Committee. He chose Jawaharlal Nehru and me as General Secretaries. But this cabinet did not function for long. It resigned at the Nagpur meeting of the A.-I.C.C.

In consequence, the Congress was again faced with a crisis. The "no-changers" wanted to elect Mazharul Haq, President of the Congress, while the "pro-changers" were in favour of Abul Kalam Azad, and the latter won. What followed thereafter was one long and strenuous struggle for freedom.

It was during this period that "Anand Bhawan", the home of Jawaharlal, became the centre of national activity. It was then that I came to be its inmate. This house was really a home for me. It was indeed a privilege to live on filial terms with Motilal Nehru. Unlike Jawaharlal, he had his light moments also, when he would laugh to his heart's content and make others laugh. He would joke with the youngsters and sometimes even with his daughters. His daughter-in-law, Kamala was like an angel of the house. Even in her ill-health, she would not spare herself and worked night and day in the hot months of May and June. She would go out and picket cloth shops. She was like a sister to me and regarded me in return as her brother. My relations with her family still remain the same as of old. She was goodness personified. I can recall to my mind how depressed Jawaharlal used to feel when a few years later she developed an illness which necessitated her being taken to Switzerland, where despite every care shown by Jawaharlal in person, she died. Since her death, the Nehru family has hardly had any peace or happiness. Notwithstanding his heavy preoccupations which kept his mind always engaged, I have found Jawaharlal at times betraying an acute sense of solitariness, because of the lack of her presence by his side. This gap in his life has no doubt been partially filled by the devotion

to him of his daughter, Indira. The mother of Jawaharlal was a dear old lady. She, too, like her daughters and daughter-in-law would insist on picketing and going to jail. Once, she got badly hurt in a lathi-charge. Jawaharlal was naturally her favourite theme. Motilal looked upon Swarup (Vijayalakshmi Pandit), who is now well known throughout the world, with an air of pride, because of her looks and intelligence. Krishna (Mrs. Hutheesing) was the youngest of the family. She was very intrepid and was a terror to cloth dealers in Allahabad. Once she put on military uniform and picketed them under the sun. An old man with a long beard came up to her and mistaking her to be a son of Motilal Nehru, addressed her: "Sahibzada! It does not behove Motilal's son to move about in the hot sun like a common street boy."

Whenever I recollect the days I spent in this home, the figure which rises before me for respectful remembrance is the figure of Motilal. He was a prince among politicians. He had the talent to probe the ills of our national life and locate the weakness beneath the surface. He was never carried away by passion, fancy or slogans. A man of robust commonsense, he was a steadying influence on the Congress and on his own son who was during his lifetime called on to preside over the destinies of the Congress. He was a lion indeed and would have proved an ideal administrator. Intellectually his son might be superior to him, but the father had a more intimate knowledge of his own country. He knew far better than his son the weaknesses of his countrymen and how to deal with them.

The days leading to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact were very trying. I shall refer to an interesting aspect of this development in so far as it touches Jawaharlal and his father. When the son, who was then the President of the Congress, was arrested, Motilal had to accept the presidentship. I was one of the General Secretaries, Sri Prakasa, then in jail, being the other. A few months later, the Congress Working Committee was declared unlawful, and Motilal and I were arrested and taken to Naini jail where Jawaharlal was serving his sentence. Jawaharlal did not idle away his time but would keep himself

engaged in studying or exercises, while Motilal, on the contrary, would relate anecdotes to his companions. After Motilal arrived, food was daily sent from "Anand Bhawan". Quite a troop of prisoners would bring our food from the jail gates to our cell. Jawaharlal did not like so much food being brought to the jail from outside. He would not say anything to his father, but would angrily turn to me and say: "This is not a hotel. This is a jail. We should not get so much food from outside." But, this continued in spite of him. Motilal would often cut jokes at the expense of his son. When Motilal was released because of his weak health, Jawaharlal returned to "Anand Bhawan" all articles of luxury, like the fan and the ice chest. Motilal wrote an angry note to Jawaharlal and sent back the ice chest with the remark that if he did not like to use cold water in that hot season, "Mahmud was there to use it".

It was about this time that talks leading to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact were started by Tej Bahadur Sapru and M. R. Jayakar with the result that the three of us were taken to Yeravda jail to consult Gandhiji. Vallabhbhai Patel, Sarojini Naidu and Jairamdas Daulatram and leading members of the Working Committee were there. We were carried in a special saloon with orders not to stop at big stations but if necessary to stop only at wayside stations, so that crowds might not gather to greet us. Although the journey was kept a secret, tremendous crowds gathered at all big stations and stopped our saloon. We reached Yeravda about midnight and were seated in the Superintendent's office till this functionary, one Mr. Martin, arrived an hour and a half later. Motilal did not like this waiting and asked him why they were kept in the office for so long and not sent directly to the barrack where Gandhiji used to sleep. Mr. Martin said that it wasn't his fault. But he could not reveal the secret. We noticed a good deal of hustle and bustle outside the office. With a few questions to Mr. Martin, Motilal found the truth without Mr. Martin realising it. The authorities had sent word to Mr. Martin that we should not be allowed to meet Gandhiji till Sapru and Jayakar had arrived.

one likes, not with strangers." I miss in the Prime Minister Jawaharlal's mercurial temper.

A few months after his release from Naini jail, Motilal died. Sapru returned from the Round Table Conference and suggested the need for negotiations between Gandhiji and Irwin. The Working Committee had to come to Delhi in this connection. The protracted negotiations ended in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Jawaharlal was not happy over some of its terms.

In 1936, Jawaharlal was in Europe when he was called on to preside over the Congress at Lucknow. The Working Committee and Gandhiji were in favour of accepting office and fighting the elections. But no one was certain whether Jawaharlal would agree to it. I discussed this matter with Vallabhbhai Patel at Ahmedabad where I had gone to see Gandhiji, who was then ill. Patel was of the opinion that, inasmuch as Jawaharlal had accepted the invitation of the Working Committee to preside over the Lucknow Congress, he was bound to support the view of the Working Committee. But when Jawaharlal returned to India, the Socialist Party here surrounded him, thinking that he had developed their colour. This party expected a breach between him and the Congress over the office acceptance issue. In fact, a rumour was set afloat to the effect that Nehru had been isolated in the Working Committee and that even I who was so devoted to him would join those who would choose to isolate him. I had no knowledge of such a conspiracy but it was a fact that somehow he had no supporter. Some time afterwards he wrote to me bitterly. The decision to fight the elections was taken. The Congress came out successful and decided to accept office. I was offered a ministership in Bihar, which I refused. My reason was to prove to Jawaharlal that I was in favour of office acceptance in principle and not because of any lure for office. Rajendra Prasad insisted on my accepting office and made it clear to me that it would be difficult to form a Ministry in Bihar without me. My name had already become a subject of controversy over the leadership of the Assembly Party and I agreed to consult Jawaharlal before a final decision. I saw Jawaharlal

at midnight at Ansari's place and when I told him about my personal dislike, he jumped at me: "Do you want that no Ministry should be formed in Bihar?" I was surprised and after some discussion, I yielded. Months later, Jawaharlal publicly declared that "office acceptance" had greatly increased the power of the Congress. This shows his openness of mind. He can change even on issues on which he felt so strongly.

I shall refer to an episode here. Just before the 1936 elections, Abdul Haq, known as "Babae Urdu", created an exciting controversy over Gandhiji's presiding over the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan naming the language "Hindi athwa Hindustani". A controversy raged in the Urdu press. Most Congress leaders were absolutely unaware of the situation. I addressed a long letter to Gandhiji and to Jawaharlal, informing them of this agitation and asking them to clear up the Congress position on the all-important language question. Gandhiji, till then, had not fully realised the gravity of the situation. Jawaharlal was angry with me for having written such a strong letter. I had stressed that if the Congress would not take a realistic view of the matter, the Muslim mind might work in other matters as well in such a way that ten years hence, the partition of the country would become a major issue. It is a pity that this turned out to be an unwitting prophecy. Jawaharlal wrote, however, a long letter on the Urdu-Hindi question. This letter was widely published and gave the Muslims some sort of satisfaction for the time being. At any rate, it helped, to some extent, Muslim Congress candidates to fight the elections of 1936.

I clearly realised the need for some agreeable solution on the Hindu-Muslim question, and made persistent efforts to bring this home to our party leaders. Gandhiji always welcomed, and in fact encouraged, my talks with them on this subject. But some Congress leaders discouraged such talks and said that there was no such question to solve. Some misunderstood my anxiety. To my regret, however, even Jawaharlal once or twice misunderstood me in this connection and wrote to me complaining of my attitude towards him.

This misunderstanding was soon cleared. The great virtue in him is that once things are placed before him in a clear perspective and with sincerity, he at once corrects himself and never makes a fetish of prestige.

I have heard people say that Jawaharlal is *ziddi* or stubborn and does not care to listen to others. This is not a fact. He is always anxious to be posted with facts as they are, and welcomes on that account a straightforward discussion on matters on which there is a difference of opinion. My experience is that if he is informed of his mistake in a frank manner, he readily changes his opinion. I may cite an important instance. On Tandon's election to the presidentship of the Congress, Jawaharlal and Azad at first refused to join his Working Committee. I happened to come to Delhi at that time. Azad discussed this question with me. I told him that he and Jawaharlal were clearly in the wrong. He did not agree with me, but early next morning he sent for me and said that he had thought over what I had spoken to him and had changed his mind. He took me to Jawaharlal who after a brief talk agreed to join the Working Committee.

Jawaharlal's exhibition of impatience with his colleagues and friends arises from his extreme anxiety to see India rise to the pinnacle of glory, if possible in his lifetime; he should like them to keep up with him in the execution of his policies. If the people who work with him tell him frankly what they really think of some of his policies and argue with him in frankness and sincerity, they will find him easily yielding to reason. His impatience, which at times gives the impression of a flare-up, is only momentary. It is always followed by an acute sense of regret. Jawaharlal is incapable of bearing ill-will against anybody or harbouring grievances. He is generous to a fault and human to the utmost. I shall refer to another experience in this regard.

We lived together for about three years in the Ahmednagar Fort. And we had our occasional differences as before. Once tempers rose over a small matter and our relations were strained. But no one knew of it. During this period, I had

exhausted my money. He quietly had Rs. 75 put into my account in the jail office without my knowledge. I still owe him that money. I have not purposely returned the amount to him so as to keep this beautiful little incident always fresh in my grateful memory. He may have forgotten it.

Jawaharlal always keeps himself engaged in work. One wonders how he manages every day to do so much work, both official and private. The secret of his health lies in his regular habits. He eats sparingly and always takes some exercise. He is very punctual. I owe my habit of punctuality to him. Many of his colleagues will do well to learn this habit from him. He does his odd jobs himself. He seldom troubles his servants for small things.

Jawaharlal is very regular in his correspondence, official or personal. I have in my possession a large bundle of letters which he has written to me during the course of our comradeship. A big sheaf of them was stolen in Patna. Even so, a considerable number remain with me. And what a variety of subjects he touches upon in his correspondence — from tiny matters of personal welfare to questions of high policy. In everyone of these, one can detect one or the other of his noble qualities.

Jawaharlal is a great lover of books. If you mention to him any new book worth reading or well reviewed, you will find that he has already read it. Once a High Commissioner of Canada was giving him information about a new book which had just been published. He was surprised when he found that Nehru had already read it. In the Ahmednagar jail, Azad, Jawaharlal, Asaf Ali and I used to sit every night after dinner, and discuss all sorts of subjects, from nature and the existence of God down to light French literature.

An incident in the life of Akbar, as described in the *Durbar-i-Akbari* attracted his attention. It was related how Akbar once rode an unruly elephant. The mount got out of hand and fled with him towards the river. His people shouted to Akbar to get down, but he would not. They gave him up as lost. The elephant jumped into the river. The people begged of him to

jump out and save his life. Akbar would not listen. He was all the time trying to bring the unruly animal under control. The elephant crossed the river and even after reaching the opposite bank was running at a great pace. Ultimately, Akbar brought him under control and made him return. His people chided the emperor for risking his life. Akbar retorted by saying that his whole reputation as a ruler was at stake. If he could not bring an unruly elephant under control, how could he control a vast empire. Jawaharlal thoroughly enjoyed this story. How one wishes that, courageous as he is, he would ride and control the unruly elephants of his own days!

The above is but a rough sketch of Jawaharlal as I know him. It is no doubt a subjective estimate. But I dare say that even in an objective view of him in relation to the different roles he has had to play in our public life, one is bound to be struck by the transparent sincerity of his purpose and nobility of his character.

He is by no means an infallible man. He is quite capable of mistakes. He has strong likes and dislikes. Probably, no one in the Government more adequately represents Gandhiji's non-violent approach to public matters. Maybe, unlike Gandhiji he is not temperamentally made for pursuing decisions to their ultimate execution at the lowest levels. In most matters, his first impulses are almost always right. But when Nehru, the Prime Minister, is influenced by the opinion of other men, errors are committed.

Last year, when the Prime Minister expressed his desire to give up his position temporarily and to serve the country as a private individual, members of the Congress Parliamentary Party vehemently opposed his decision and took him to task for not taking the party fully into confidence and not telling them the real reasons for his "loud thinking".

I did not say a word at the meeting. However, I met him later and expressed that he should follow his initial impulse and offered to work with Jawaharlal once again with the same vigour and zeal as before. But the party members prevailed upon him to change his decision. I still think that it was a

mistake on his part to have yielded to the pressure of the party members. A great opportunity to check the drift of the nation in the wrong direction was lost never to come again.

He has brought about a great social revolution in the country without shedding a drop of blood. This is a great achievement. Where is such an example in history? In other countries, change has been accompanied by violence and took centuries. His contribution has also been great in fields other than political. He is mainly responsible for introducing secularism in the country and trying to make a success of it. By precept and example, he has endeavoured to inject a healthy spirit and purity of mind in his countrymen. Today, parties are formed to oppose co-operative farming, mainly on the ground that it would lead to collectivisation and communism. There is no one among the world's political leaders today whose mind is so completely free from fear. Being a fearless man himself, Jawaharlal does not understand men who are afraid.

For the sake of political principles, Nehru spent twelve years in prison. All his life, he has been a fighter for civil liberties. How can a man with this record have any sympathy for the destruction of civil liberties that communism inevitably involves?

Nehru's mind is far too refined to accept the crudities of communism. Nehru does not have to hate communism, because he is not afraid of it. Hatred is the way of men who are afraid. And there is something attractive about communists. They do not exhibit fear. For them, their creed is genuine religion. They are convinced the future is theirs. In the battle to win the minds and hearts of men, communists show extreme cleverness in their approach and propaganda.

The absence of a positive faith makes the words of anti-communists meaningless. Hatred of communists is a poor substitute for a faith. Nehru has declared that India is determined to bring about large-scale social and economic changes by peaceful and non-violent means.

If in a country like India, it can be shown that by a system of mixed economy and democratic means, 370 million people

can be provided with a high standard of living, this demonstration would be a turning point in human history. In this way alone can India combat the ideology and faith of the communists. This is Nehru's faith which he has presented to bewildered and undeveloped countries. He may be in a great hurry to achieve his goal. That this does not suit the temperament and liking of a great many people is another matter.

Jawaharlal is essentially a man of the future. In his anxiety to build the future of his country in the shortest possible time, he sometimes lamentably ignores the present. Jawaharlal is half a century ahead of his time and with whom possibly it is difficult for most of his co-workers to keep pace. A posterity may reckon this fact for our present-day unsatisfactory conditions.

A life in civic action warm,
A soul on highest mission sent,
A potent voice of Parliament,
A pillar steadfast in the storm!

Arthur Moore

My Friend's Son

To ME Jawaharlal Nehru is chiefly his father's son. Motilal Nehru was a dear friend for whom I not only had friendship but a deep admiration as a whole man. And to Motilal his son was his darling, for whose future no sacrifice could be too great. Being a brilliant lawyer, he was wealthy and so it was Harrow and Cambridge for Jawaharlal. In those days, Motilal, possibly through his belief in the British legal system and the large number of British friends that his own warmhearted nature brought him, was decidedly pro-British.

Allahabad, then the capital of the United Provinces, was his home. Sir Harcourt Butler, Governor of the United Provinces, was his personal friend, and they entertained each other. Indeed, Motilal Nehru entertained most of the members of the European community; his hospitality was famed. But the European business men were not of the same stamp as the Governors or the Civil Servants. They accepted Motilal's hospitality but their wives were not in the habit of entertaining Indians in their houses.

One day Jawaharlal, a grown man, already a lawyer, returned to his own country and to his father's delight. But, like most of the "England returned", as Indians from Oxford and Cambridge were known, he had imbibed British ideas about national independence and the right to self-government. These were ideas which Motilal had never toyed with, but he soon fell under the spell of his beloved son. As for Jawaharlal,

he was under the spell of Mahatma Gandhi. For Gandhiji he felt not only unbounded admiration as a fearless nationalist leader but a devoted personal affection. Gandhiji responded to this affection, and got to know him so well that in this early period began the mutual trust which made the Mahatma designate him as his successor. But indeed he was the obvious choice. Long before Gandhiji's death, Jawaharlal by untiring labour amongst the peasants, not to mention his imprisonments, had become famed throughout the whole sub-continent.

To this position he worked the hard way. He began by taking the opportunity open to him of learning the business of administration and politics in the Allahabad Municipality. It was at this time that he is credited with remonstrating to his father on the latter's indiscriminate hospitality to Europeans and with having asked him, "Do these people ever ask you back?" This story, if it be true, may well have set Motilal thinking more and more on his son's lines. But I have reason to know that he did not tell his son everything. For there is a well-known story concerning his friendship, as yet uninterrupted, with Sir Harcourt Butler. Of this story, Jawaharlal has written that it is untrue, and of course he believed that when he wrote it. But actually it is true. For Motilal Nehru himself told me all about it. Motilal was dining with Sir Harcourt and, no doubt, feeling his political views changing under his son's influence, and possibly shades of the prison house beginning to close around him, said laughingly to Sir Harcourt over their champagne (Motilal liked good wine) that one day soon he might be in prison. To which Sir Harcourt replied "Well, if that happens, I'll see that you get champagne."

It passed as a jest, but this, Motilal told me, is what happened. His first morning in prison an A.D.C. from Government House arrived at lunch-time with a half-bottle of champagne wrapped in a napkin, and every single day of his imprisonment this was repeated.

My friendship with Motilal grew while we were both members of the Legislative Assembly. There his eloquence was striking. Jawaharlal has never attempted to imitate his

father's style. He, too, can speak brilliantly and persuasively, but in quite another and a much more conversational manner. In former days he rarely laughed or even smiled when speaking in public. Nowadays it seems that he relaxes more often, and can get amusement from a jest. But one of my most vivid memories of him is of as sad a man as I ever saw.

When the terrible deeds that accompanied partition and shocked the world took place I was caught holidaying in Kashmir. From Rawalpindi I managed to make my way to Lahore, where, after a night spent sleeping on the station platform, I got into a hotel. I saw no prospect of getting back to Delhi. But on the Sunday I lunched with Sir Frederick Wylie, at Government House, there was Jawaharlal, who had flown over to meet his opposite number from Pakistan and try to arrange some cessation of the killings. Seeing my predicament, Jawaharlal, with that kindliness and fine courtesy of manner which distinguishes him, offered to fly me back when he himself was returning to Delhi that afternoon.

In the plane, he had a desk seat where he intermittently looked at documents, but most of the time he stared through the window by which he sat at the endless streams of refugees in vehicles or on foot that blocked the roads. And on his face was written misery. But his courtesy did not fail him even then; his car carried me to my hotel in New Delhi.

In early days Jawaharlal became, as he remains today, a convinced and ardent socialist. When his father was in the Assembly, father and son went on a visit to Moscow. Motilal, handsome and as always beautifully tailored, must have been a strange figure in the drab Moscow of those days, but I should not be surprised if Jawaharlal had then a leaning towards communism which he certainly no longer has. He has reconciled himself to the idea of a mixed economy but, as then, nationalisation is still his remedy, and insurance like transport was one of the planks in his future platform programme. When independence came, the Russians for some years scoffed at the idea that India was really independent. They do not do so now. Jawaharlal, a world statesman, has raised India

to the position of a great state whose independence no one doubts and whose favour some court.

In the first flush of independence, the cry throughout India was against foreign capital. But it soon became evident that India, if she wished to raise the standard of living of the masses, a cause pre-eminent in Jawaharlal's mind, could not herself provide sufficient capital, that foreign investment was a necessity, and so Jawaharlal promoted the idea of foreign aid "without strings", a difficult conception from a banker's point of view, but one which has had a certain success in relation to the successive "plans" envisaged, in ideas rightly borrowed from Russia, the originator of planned economics. Fortunately the West has realised that if it is to continue to find a market for its ever-increasing production it must help in raising the standard of living in the underdeveloped countries in its own interest.

But if there was one thing in particular over which Jawaharlal was determined, it was that when independence came, India should be a republic entirely outside the British Commonwealth of Nations. The idea of India as a "dependency" still haunted him. He still thought of "imperialism" and "independence" as irreconcilable opposites. Yet, here again, he moved with the times. He had to contend with the difficulties of his people. They at first could not understand that the police were not their enemies in a nationalist struggle but were the servants of their own ministers. He recognised that Britain had trained a generation in parliamentary institutions and that when the moment of independence came, India had her own first class army and navy. Probably also he was impressed by the example of Ireland which, through the wisdom of Mr. de Valera, since departed from by others, had remained in the British Commonwealth, but was a republic and displayed her independence by remaining neutral in the World War. India, too, remained in the Commonwealth, as an independent republic, with the sovereign as a titular symbolic head.

But the great test for Nehru's statesmanship is still unsolved, and lies in the future. Pakistan canal disputes, boundary

disputes, displaced persons disputes—all these may be solved; trade between the two countries may be developed; but there will never be satisfactory relations between India and Pakistan till the Kashmir issue is amicably settled.

Jawaharlal is by descent a Kashmiri Brahmin and perhaps that colours his view, though neither he nor his father made his home there, any more than did the great Sapru or than does, for instance, Pandit Kunzru nowadays. Yet in this case also I have good hopes that his statesmanship will ultimately solve the problem. Gandhiji was much interested shortly before his death in a suggestion which I put into print. This was that Kashmir should be treated as an equal third party and that India, Pakistan and Kashmir should become a federated commonwealth state, with common foreign affairs, common defence, and such finance as concerned these subjects, but otherwise all three to be separate self-governing States. Gandhiji asked me to submit this suggestion to Jawaharlal and get his opinion. I was just about to do so when there came the shock of the Mahatma's end. Naturally I did not bother Jawaharlal at a time when he was feeling so bereft. But eventually we met and discussed the idea in accordance with Gandhiji's wish that we should do so. And since that day I have always had hope that at last there could be real peace between India and Pakistan, and that the worst evils of partition would be forever wiped out, including that evil which existed before partition and which in former times of British rule Britons were accused of fomenting—Hindu-Moslem religious quarrels. For, Nehru's answer was not "No". His was the right and wise answer to my untimely haste. His answer was that "the time is not yet".

H. V. R. Iengar

P. M. at Work

IN AUGUST 1947, when the whole of East and West Punjab was in flames, I accompanied Jawaharlal Nehru, as his Principal Private Secretary, on a tour which he jointly undertook with Liaqat Ali Khan, then Prime Minister of Pakistan. I recall the day when we set out at 6 a.m. by plane, flew for an hour, then travelled long distances by car and jeep through dusty roads, saw a caravan of more than a hundred thousand people marching with tragic resignation away from what had been their home for generations and walked through places where the dead were still lying about. The P.M. — as we all called Nehru — interviewed a number of people who had tales of heart-rending misery to tell him.

I cannot imagine another day when he could have felt more strongly that all his hopes, his dreams, his faith in human nature were crashing down in pieces, than on that saddening day. We returned to Lahore about nine in the evening, had a late dinner during the course of which the events of the day were discussed with Pakistani ministers and, round about midnight, we all dispersed, with another programme, equally heavy and tragic, to start at six the next morning. I went to bed exhausted, both physically and in spirit. When, with some difficulty, I got ready early that morning to go to the airport, the P.A. showed me a pile of letters, telegrams and memoranda which the P.M. had dictated. He told me they had all been dictated after everybody had dispersed. The P.M. had gone to bed at 2 a.m. but was ready at 5–30 to start another day.

The schedule of that day was a little unusual but something like it — some 16 to 17 hours out of 24 — has been the practice with him day after day, week after week, month after month, all these 13 years. The members of his staff, who are all much younger than himself, have never been able to keep pace with him. What is it that is responsible for this phenomenal energy in a man who is 70 years old? No discussion of his technique of work can begin without some explanation of this extraordinary vitality.

Having worked closely with him during a period of exceptional stress and anguish, I have come to the conclusion that no purely physical or physiological explanation is adequate. It is a case of the utter triumph of the spirit over the body, of a consuming passion for public work overcoming the normal mechanics of the human frame. But while this is the basic explanation, this triumph of the spirit is helped by his ability to detach his mind completely and switch over to something utterly different from what is causing him concern at the moment.

On the occasion in Lahore mentioned above, we took off at 6 a.m. on the second day for an hour's journey. While everybody else was leaning back on his seat, looking weary and miserable, I found the P.M. quietly reading a thin book. Out of curiosity, I asked him what it was and found it was a translation of Shudrak's *Mricchakatika*. He explained to me that his brother-in-law, Ranjit Pandit, had prepared a translation while in prison and in sending it to him while he was in detention in Ahmednagar, had referred to a translation made by somebody else. It was this translation which the P.M. was reading in the early hours of a day round about the 25th of August 1947.

I thought that the detachment he showed was phenomenal. Moreover, it was not on the surface alone; it seemed deep and complete. I have noticed this time and again. Some time this year I went to call on him on my return from a tour of Latin America. That was the day on which he was to hold discussions with his colleagues about the Kerala situation and, in fact, I saw him about an hour before these discussions began.

I talked about my impressions of Mexico and Brazil, of the social changes that were taking place in those countries, of the attitude of their peoples towards India, of the pace at which economic development was taking place and the extent to which this had been retarded by instability of currency. He asked me a number of questions and occasionally made a comment or two which showed that he was listening with the keenest interest to what I was telling him. Ten minutes after I had left him, he was in the house of the ailing Home Minister discussing the Kerala situation.

This capacity for utter detachment is normally seen in saints and prophets who regard human life and, in particular, human suffering from a lofty spiritual level. It is quite unusual in a person like the P.M. who reacts with the most direct sensitivity to suffering and wants to deal with it energetically himself in order to mitigate it as far as he can. In fact, those who have worked with him have been puzzled and fascinated by the question whether his work as P.M. is not sometimes rendered more difficult by this sensitivity to individual suffering and by his attempt to deal with it personally, if it is at all humanly possible.

There are, for instance, numerous authentic stories of the days immediately following independence when he picked up individuals in distress, fed them, found jobs for them. When millions were in distress, the number of persons who could be so helped was infinitesimal. Not merely this, but the time and energy taken to deal with them was often considerable. I recall an occasion when we went to Srinagar in the summer of 1948. The plane landed in Jammu and could not afterwards take off because of a very severe dust-storm. The Air Force declined to take the responsibility of flying him through the Banihal Pass in that weather. Arrangements were made to take him to Srinagar by road and we arrived there about midnight. In the confusion, the stenographer's suitcase got mislaid and the poor man arrived at Srinagar, which was pretty cool at night, shivering in a thin cotton shirt. I had not noticed this myself at the time but next morning discovered

that the Prime Minister had done so, had asked somebody to bring a sweater and a coat, and personally made sure, before he retired, that the stenographer had put them on. I remember also that shortly before he went to a Commonwealth Conference in London, the P.M. saw some barracks in Delhi where refugees were housed. Quite a few things were wrong with these barracks, including sanitation and water. In the midst of its preoccupations, the Ministry of Rehabilitation had been unable to give high priority to the problem of improving these barracks. The P.M. who happened to visit them decided that something must be done — and done quickly — to put things right. It happened that after he recorded this decision he went off to London. Various problems of international importance were discussed during the Conference. When he returned to Delhi, he went straight to the office, summoned his Principal Private Secretary and asked him what had happened to the repair of the barracks! His mind was not content with leaving this matter to normal departmental action; in the midst of problems concerning Korea, Indo-China and the rest, he wanted personally to make sure that repairs had been carried out to some refugee barracks in Delhi. This is the sort of incident which makes some of us who have been privileged to work with him ask ourselves: "Should he not save himself from these relatively minor problems? Would not his time be better spent in giving himself some longer time for quiet reflection on the major administrative problems before decisions are arrived at?"

This tendency not to isolate himself from individual problems shows itself also in his attitude to departmental controversies. It has been said of Attlee that when he was Prime Minister he resolutely declined to deal with any issue until it had been thrashed out between the ministries concerned; he just would not deal with it till he had before him the distilled essence of their thinking. Any colleague who tried to short-circuit this procedure was firmly told of what had to be done. Nehru may like things to be done this way but never insists on it with the consequence that any problem, at any stage,

put before him gets his attention. Each problem is to him a challenge; he does not see why his mind should not work on it. The consequence is a load of work which should not come his way till a much later stage of ministerial examination had been reached.

The question whether a quality which elevates the P.M. as a human being may not be a weakness in the head of an enormous administration arises in another context. Should not colleagues and associates who may be no longer as useful as before to the administration be jettisoned and replaced by more efficient persons? Should friendship, personal regard or a mere disinclination to cause a sense of injury lead to a failure to do what may seem administratively necessary?

All these questions have a point in their own little way, but they seem to miss the basic truth. It may be that the Prime Minister could do his work, as head of the administration, better if he were more ruthless administratively, if he rationed his time better and elevated his functional responsibility as Prime Minister over his feelings of loyalty and friendship. But in that case, he would not be the man that the country knows and loves. Part of his great appeal lies in his qualities of compassion, of loyalty and of a burning desire to help people in distress. He could not continue to be the force that he is, giving to administration a sense of purpose and mission, and illuminating the minds and hearts of millions of people in the country, were he not the tireless Jawaharlal Nehru who can take time from the manifold problems of the country to wipe an individual tear.

4

APPRAISAL AND ANALYSIS

Nehru is many things to many people. The democrat that he is, some look upon him as a spokesman of Asia, a guide of Africa or a leader of free nations. There are others who are perturbed by one or two features of his make-up which, in their opinion, detract from his reputation as a democrat. They accuse him of being manifestly uncharitable to critics or of sacrificing democratic propriety for the sake of political expediency. These flaws in the Nehru legend notwithstanding, Nehru's hold over his people, especially the youth, has always been hypnotic and his own vitality and ebullience have been the envy of all. These aspects of the man are studied in this section.

Pattabhi Sitaramayya

Spokesman for Asia

Jawaharlal Nehru was born to plenty and brought up in opulence, but he chose to cast his lot with those who suffered from want and misery. After having acquired the best of education at Harrow and Cambridge, he returned home, albeit not intoxicated with the wine of success, determined to make good at the bar, the profession he had chosen for himself at the instance of his father. He, however, took to politics, first reluctantly, but later with gusto and enthusiasm. Gandhiji's advent gave hope and inspiration to him. It not only changed Nehru's whole outlook on life but even his mode of living. Under his influence even Motilal discarded all the luxuries and comforts which wealth had brought him and to which he had been accustomed for decades and instead took to simple living.

This was, however, not done by the Nehrus as a matter of fun or frolic. It was a part of the transformation that had taken place in them — an expression of their growing identification with the downtrodden masses of India. They realised the artificiality of their existence and knew that they could be one with their people only through a life of service and sacrifice. For the first time Jawaharlal and his father saw the grim realities of the poverty and misery of India and they became conscious of their responsibility in eradicating the same. In Jawaharlal the change was both sudden and dramatic. He took to the new life as enthusiastically as he had taken earlier to a life of ease and luxury. Though he hates poverty, he has no

contempt for the poor. He, therefore, started dressing like the poor, eating like them and even living like them so that he might become one of them. True, this was done under Gandhiji's influence but it goes to Nehru's credit that despite his aristocratic background and the years he had spent in becoming a gentleman in England, he found no difficulty in adapting himself to the new life. In fact his enthusiasm was great and revealed the inner urge for freedom that stimulated him and which was to become later the motive force of his whole career.

Towards that end Nehru went to jail, not once or twice, but many times and suffered unbelievable hardships; in the Nabha jail particularly he was treated worse than the worst of criminals. But even in jails, where he passed the best part of his youth, he did not languish; instead he gave to his people a new message of hope through some of the finest pieces of literature that he wrote there. That is why his suffering inspired a whole generation of Indians and bucked them up for greater and nobler effort. To my mind that is one of his greatest contributions to our freedom struggle, namely, the inspiration that his own life of suffering and sacrifice gave to his people.

Moreover, it was Nehru who taught India how to face hardships and keep up courage even in the midst of all the pains and penalties that fell to her lot as a British dependency. Furthermore, it was his emotional identification with human suffering and his great spirit of sacrifice that made Jawaharlal sympathetic not only to the needs and aspirations of his own people but to those of the people in other countries similarly situated, whether in Asia, Africa or even in Europe. To Nehru's credit, it may be said that he not only understood their problems and sympathised with their lot, but generated among his own people a similar reaction. As he himself points out in his *Autobiography*: "The reaction of the Spanish war on me indicates how, in my mind, the problem of India was tied up with other world problems. More and more I came to think that these separate problems — political or economic — in China, Abyssinia, Palestine and Spain, Central Europe, India or elsewhere, were facets of one and the same world

problem. There could be no final solution of any one of them till this basic problem was solved. And in all probability there would be upheaval and disaster before the final solution was reached. As peace was said to be indivisible in the present-day world, so also freedom was indivisible and the world could not continue for long, part free, part unfree. The challenge of fascism and nazism was the challenge of imperialism. They were twin brothers with this variation that imperialism functioned abroad in colonies and dependencies, while fascism and nazism functioned in the same way in the home country also. If freedom was to be established in the world, not only fascism and nazism had to go but imperialism had to be completely liquidated. This reaction to foreign events was not confined to me. Many others in India began, to some extent, feeling that way and even the public was interested. The public interest was kept up by thousands of meetings and demonstrations that the Congress organised all over the country in sympathy with the people of China, Abyssinia, Palestine and Spain. Some attempts were also made by us to send aid in the shape of medical supplies and food to China and Spain. This wider interest in international affairs helped to raise our own struggle to a higher level and to lessen somewhat the narrowness which is always a feature of nationalism."

But apart from this international aspect of his leadership, another great contribution made by him to our national struggle was his attitude to the gospel of non-violence as preached by Gandhiji. True, he did not believe in the gospel as a creed — he is in fact opposed to all creeds; but he saw the force of the gospel and not only accepted it in all sincerity during the days of our national struggle but has tried to apply it in his relations with other countries since India became free. His Panchshila is nothing but an elaboration of Gandhiji's doctrine of non-violence.

Presiding over the Lahore session of the Congress in 1929, Nehru explained his attitude thus: "Violence too often brings reaction and demoralisation in its train and in our country specially it may lead to disruption. It is

perfectly true that organised violence rules the world today and it may be that we could profit by its use. But we have not the material or the training for organised violence and individual or sporadic violence is a confession of despair. The great majority of us, I take it, judge the issue not on moral but on practical grounds and if we reject the way of violence it is because it promises no substantial results. But if this Congress or the nation at any future time comes to the conclusion that methods of violence will rid us of slavery, then, I have no doubt that it will adopt them. Violence is bad but slavery is far worse. Let us also remember that the great apostle of non-violence has himself told us that it is better to fight than to refuse to fight out of cowardice." In the same vein, he exhorted his compatriots to action and declared, "None of us can say what and when we can achieve. We cannot command success. But success often comes to those who dare and act; it seldom goes to the timid who are ever afraid of the consequences. We play for higher stakes and if we seek to achieve great things, it can only be through great dangers."

The method apart, his was no narrow approach; he emphasised that independence meant complete freedom from British domination; but after it was achieved, he said, "I have no doubt that India will welcome all attempts at world co-operation and federation and will even agree to give up part of her own independence to a larger group of which she is an equal member." From the beginning he has been clear about India's role in world affairs; he has not hesitated ever since to play that role irrespective of the difficulties that he had to encounter and the misrepresentation to which he was subjected by interested parties. It was mainly because of him that the Indian National Congress took, year after year, a brave stand on every crucial international issue especially whenever freedom was in danger or colonialism threatened to suppress people. Moreover, if India escaped from being influenced by the concept of nationalism — degenerate, narrow and materialistic — as it had developed in Europe and America in the nineteenth century, it was because of Nehru; he gave a breadth of vision and

universal content to our nationalism. In the result the liberation of India has worked as a stimulant for freedom to the people in other countries of South-East Asia, West Asia and North Africa; and in providing that stimulant Nehru has played the major role.

Lord Boyd Orr

Leader of Free Nations

THERE ARE two extreme types of politicians. There are the loyal party men whose main objective in democratic countries is to win the next election and in totalitarian countries to maintain the power of the leader. The other type consists of men with ideals beyond and above party politics, devoting their lives to the realisation of their ideals which they believe to be for the good of their fellow citizens or even for the whole of mankind.

Both types are needed. The former give stability to government but it is the latter who have the creative ideas which stimulate necessary changes. They are the leaders in the advance of civilization. As those in power fear new ideas which threaten to undermine their authority, the heretics with the new ideas have always a hard time. They are ostracised, imprisoned or even executed as enemies of the established order.

Nehru belongs to this latter group among whom are the greatest names in history. At Harrow and Cambridge he was educated with the youth of the English governing class, thoroughly at home with them, entitled to wear the right school tie and indeed, though an Indian, more acceptable to the ruling caste of England than one educated in a Scottish or a modern English University and therefore lacking the right social and political outlook and the right accent in speaking or the right type of behaviour.

With such education along with persons destined to be in the English ruling class, together with his great intellectual

powers and his wealth, he could have attained high rank in any social or governmental circle. He sacrificed that comfortable and honourable position for the ideal of freedom for his native land and the political and economic uplift of its poverty-stricken teeming millions. He became a follower of Gandhi who with his loin cloth, his spinning wheel and his plan of a peaceful revolution was an object of contempt and derision to the class with which Nehru had been associated in England, but who won freedom for India and will live in history as one of the greatest and most interesting figures of this century.

Though not sharing all of Gandhi's views, Nehru was loyal to him and shared the humiliation of being condemned for sedition and put in prison. When staying with Nehru after he became Prime Minister I found that he had no bitter feelings and absolutely no hatred towards England either for her Government or her people, not even for those who had put him and other members of his family in prison. That spirit of tolerance and sympathetic understanding of the motives of his opponents is an attribute of a fine mind.

Now as the head of a nation of nearly 400 million he occupies a unique position in the world. Though not a pacifist in the Gandhian sense, he exercises more influence for world peace than any other head of state. He refuses to be drawn into either of the two big military power blocs, whose leaders now, at this late stage, are beginning to realise that the hydrogen bomb spells either the end of the age-long power politics or the end of our civilisation and the possible extinction of the human race.

As the ablest and most highly respected leader among what should rightly be termed as the free nations, i.e. those which maintain their independence, refusing to come within the sphere of influence of either Moscow or Washington, he maintains friendly relations with both. Further, by his cosmopolitan outlook he has become a world statesman whose views on international affairs are twenty years ahead of most other world politicians and who has probably more influence among the intelligent people of the world than any other political leader.

Though Nehru was the chief associate of Gandhi in winning freedom for India, he is now faced with the equally difficult struggle to win freedom from poverty for the Indian masses. With a country whose common people were in abysmal poverty when he became its leader and with a population increasing at the rate of five million a year this is a herculean task. He has, however, the right ideas on necessary agrarian reforms, on measures to raise the standard of living of the common people and on the abolition of the caste system which he promoted by his example of having untouchables as visitors to his house and treating them as equals.

With his heavy responsibilities as Prime Minister he cannot personally devise, much less carry out, all the measures needed to increase the production of food and other physical necessities of life. It is to be hoped that he has the assistance of his colleagues who can carry out the rapid radical reforms needed to lift India to a higher economic level. Success in this domestic sphere would greatly enhance Nehru's influence as a world statesman for which he is so well fitted by his intellectual powers, his courage and his high ideals.

George Padmore

Exemplar of Afro-Asian Unity

THE NAME of Jawaharlal Nehru is known throughout Asia and Africa where he is not only revered as a distinguished Indian patriot but looked upon as an uncompromising champion of the struggle of colonial peoples for their independence and self-determination.

In this respect the contribution of Nehru is no less significant than that of Mahatma Gandhi, who through his philosophy of non-violence, showed the dependent peoples of Asia and Africa how an unarmed people could without violence effectively push forward the struggle against alien domination.

Gandhi's philosophy has been a corner-stone of Nehru's own ideology. But while adhering to the philosophy of non-violence, he has consistently from the earliest days of his political activity stressed the international aspect of anti-imperialism. He has frequently uttered a warning against limiting the colonial struggle to the narrow confines of national activity as being inimical to the broader currents of human progress especially in terms of socio-economic development. It is this aspect of Nehru's philosophy that has had such a vital impact upon the thinking of Asian and African nationalist leaders. He brought home to them that national independence is not an end in itself but a means to an end.

In Africa particularly, this recognition is not confined to top-level political leadership; one meets it even among the illiterate common folk. "This unity", they say, "is good for Africans." In many places it is this mass attitude, this almost

universal emotional feeling that the more Africans and Asians get together the better. This consciousness is even pushing those conservative African elements which are most hesitant to break with outworn traditions and customs into a position where they must accept the principle of international co-operation unless they want to be swept into the depths and lost by the rising tide of popular feeling.

Of course, there are socialist leaders like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Sekou Toure of Guinea who have always believed that international co-operation, especially between Asians and Africans, is the only road to rapid economic and social development of the countries graduating from dependent and colonial status to full independence and nationhood. Although it has been often quoted, I think it is worth repeating what Nkrumah has said : "I consider the independence of Ghana to be meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent."

That is why the Ghana Premier has made it a principal plank of his Government's foreign policy to render every kind of support short of violence to the struggle for national independence in Africa and wherever else it is being carried on. Nkrumah, like Nehru, goes even farther. He emphasises that the political power which is achieved by national independence must be used to liberate all colonial peoples from foreign economic domination and to raise the standard of their life — especially of the peasants who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population in Asia and Africa.

Important, too, for the rising leadership in Asia and Africa is Nehru's stress upon the inter-relationship between the political and social revolutions. This side of Nehru's philosophy, repeatedly emphasised in his writings and public speeches and statements is gaining wider and wider acceptance among the younger political leadership of both the continents. The African intellectuals particularly now recognise almost as an axiom that the political revolution consummated in national independence is a necessary pre-requisite to the social revolution.

That Nehru has always posed before his country socialist objectives as the ultimate salvation of the people is not at all accidental; it is indeed the kernel of his thinking as we in Africa understand it. And it is out of this orientation that his internationalism has evolved. Having accepted democratic socialism as the ideal, internationalism becomes its concomitant. For, real socialism is essentially a philosophy of internationalism. It is hardly possible to be truly socialist at home and at the same time adopt an attitude of racial chauvinism and contempt towards other peoples or act as an imperialist abroad.

It is not possible to preach the gospel of the liberation of the oppressed classes in Asia and Africa and at the same time defend the vested interests of one's own capitalist countrymen living in foreign lands. We are not surprised, therefore, that Nehru, in keeping with his international socialist outlook, has repeatedly advised Indian communities abroad, especially the trading and money-lending communities in South Africa, Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, to identify themselves with the indigenous peoples and not look to Mother India to protect their special economic and class interests against those of the people among whom they live. Nor are we surprised that Nehru's admonition to these Indian capitalists abroad has frequently aroused the resentment of the same trading and money-lending sections in India itself, which are in fact the greatest obstacles hindering the realisation of Nehru's "socialistic pattern of society".

On the other hand, Nehru's clear-cut stand against the narrow interests of Indian trading communities abroad has endeared him to the African peoples. For, in this age of national rivalries, ideological competitions and racial antagonisms, it takes great courage on the part of a popular national leader to denounce his own people when their conduct brings them into conflict with the good of the people among whom they have settled.

Jawaharlal Nehru's international perspective and his public statements amplifying this vision have served as an inspiration

to young Africans who believe that he, more than any other contemporary Asian leader, seeks to promote the closest bond of unity between the awakened peoples of Asia and Africa.

As a colleague of Kwame Nkrumah, I can testify to the tremendous impact which Nehru's writings and more recently Nkrumah's meetings with the Indian leader during his visit to that vast country have made upon him. And this inspiration drawn from personal contact with Nehru has fortified the democratic socialist outlook of Ghana's first Prime Minister. The friendship between Jawaharlal Nehru and Kwame Nkrumah is one example of how the sharing of views between Asian and African statesmen can and will influence the destinies of the two continents now on the threshold of a new life.

Bandung was but a concrete reflection of Nehru's whole philosophy of the closer unity between the darker races of Asia and Africa who, for centuries past, have been made the victims of European oppression and spoliation and used as the "bearers of the white man's burden".

As one of the two great architects of new India, Jawaharlal Nehru enjoys respect and influence which transcends the frontiers of his own country. There are few African intellectuals who have not read and been inspired by his fascinating *Autobiography* and other historical writings. It is no mystery that his life and work have been an inspiration to many who might not otherwise have broadened their vision beyond the confining limits of their native land. This broader horizon has in its turn served to break down the restrictions of racial, tribal, caste and regional loyalties, and extended the African perspective beyond the Balkanised frontiers which have been the tragedy of Africa for so long.

Edward Atiyah

A Guide of the Arabs

I MAY BE forgiven if I begin on a personal note. I do so with all modesty and in no egotistical spirit, but merely to show from my own personal experience, as an Arab who has lived and is living through the Arab resurgence, both how much the Arabs have always looked to Nehru for inspiration, example and support, and how much sympathy and encouragement he has given them, even in his busiest and most harassed moments.

Having all my life cherished the highest esteem for Nehru both as a great humanist and a supremely civilised champion of freedom for his own and all other countries, and having been greatly moved and inspired by his *Autobiography*, I made bold when my own autobiography, *An Arab Tells His Story*, was published in 1946 to send Nehru a copy of it, as a humble tribute from an admirer which, I thought, might interest him because in it I had tried to express and explain the various conflicting emotions which educated Arabs had been experiencing towards the West and towards Russia in their struggle for freedom and for equality with the independent nations of the world — particularly with the Western nations that had been ruling them for many decades. It was a very busy and testing time for Nehru. He had just assumed a high office in independent India. I wondered how long it would be before he could spare a moment to glance at my book. I was delighted therefore when, within a few weeks, I received the following letter from him:

17, York Road,
New Delhi,
October 31, 1946.

Dear Mr. Atiyah,

Thank you for your letter of 16th September and your book. It is difficult for me now to find much time for reading books, but a slight indisposition confined me to bed and I took to your autobiography. Both the subject and the manner of writing interested me greatly. It is one of the few books that I must read through and I am grateful to you for having sent it.

For a number of reasons I have been greatly interested in Arab affairs. Your book will give me a greater understanding of them. I am sure that there must be a great deal of mutual understanding and co-operation between India and the Arab countries.

With all good wishes to you.

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

I did not meet Nehru till January, 1955, when I happened to be in Cairo and he was passing through it. I mention this occasion because it left a deep impression on me of his enormous popularity and moral stature in the Arab world. His stay in Cairo was very brief, but hundreds of people came to call on him. As I awaited my turn, in the reception room of the Indian Embassy, I saw a procession of prominent Egyptian and Arab figures going in, one after another, to greet Nehru and have a few words with him. There were women as well as men — leaders of feminist organisations, representatives of the new generation of nationalists, old veterans like the Emir Abdel Krim, people in official positions as well as private citizens. This was more than a mere celebrity hunt. It was an expression of the deep regard felt for Nehru both as a man and as the leading statesman of the East, by men and women who for many years had felt his influence over the resurgence going on in their countries and known him as the friend of their cause.

It is, of course, impossible to speak of Nehru's role in the Arab resurgence without coupling his name with that of Gandhi in the context of India's struggle for freedom in the period between the two wars. That was the period when the Arab countries too were struggling for their independence and going through an acute and difficult stage of their resurgence. This resurgence involved for both India and the Arab world not only emancipation from Western rule and the realisation of their own national identities, but also a profound transformation and adaptation of their traditional ways of life to modern conditions. It was natural, therefore, that the Arab countries should look upon India as an elder sister and a moral leader in the common struggle, particularly as in Gandhi India had produced a figure of titanic spiritual proportions, recognised throughout the world as one of the greatest figures of this century. Gandhi's life and work became an inspiration to Arab nationalists. Even among Muslim Arabs, not Jinnah and the Muslim League, but Gandhi and the Congress Party were held in the highest esteem as representing the true struggle against colonialism and offering the most uplifting example to national liberation movements in other countries.

Nehru made his first impact on the Arab resurgence as Gandhi's chief supporter and lieutenant. But before long he began to exercise an influence in his own right as his figure grew beside Gandhi's and became differentiated from it. Gandhi remained the prophet, the saint, the source of inspiration, but while his spirit continued to move and inspire the Arab nationalists, and while the enormous power of his creed continued to be admired for its efficacy in combating imperialism, his ideas on how Indian life should be shaped for the future, and particularly his apparent rejection of industrialisation and Western technology in favour of a self-supporting simple village life did not offer the reformers of the Arab resurgence the example they needed. Admired for their spiritual grandeur, these ideas were not accepted as a practical basis for the emancipation and renascence of the East.

Something in the nature of a philosophy and a programme for development and progress in the modern sense, even up to a point in the Western sense, was demanded by both the idealists and the progressive practical statesmen of the Arab world. It was here that Nehru made his first individual contribution, as distinct from Gandhi, to the intellectual and social revolution that was taking place in the Arab countries. He emerged as the first great apostle of socialism in the East; a democrat and a liberal, yet a planner; a believer in the value of improving the material condition of the people by using industry and Western techniques wherever possible and assimilating this part of Western civilisation into the life of India to form a new synthesis.

Nehru's influence on the Arab resurgence in this role has been very great, and it is greater today than it has ever been. For now that India and the Arab countries have won their freedom, the paramount question is what to do with this freedom; how to use it internally in solving the major social and economic problems confronting all underdeveloped lands; above all whether to cherish and guard it or abdicate it in favour of a new autocracy in the belief that this autocracy will prove more successful than democracy in giving the East what it desperately needs. Since the emergence of Communist China and the launching of her gigantic experiment in economic development and social reform by communist methods, the importance of India — the social democracy of India led and inspired by Nehru — as offering an alternative example to the Arab countries of how to bring about a social revolution and economic betterment without communist totalitarianism can hardly be exaggerated. So far the Arab social revolution has been following the Indian example, most of the Arab reformers and planners have drawn their inspiration from Nehru, not from Mao or even Lenin. I do not refer only to such professed socialists as the Lebanese leader Kemal Jumblat or the Syrian thinker Michel Aflaq and his disciples of the Baath party who are to be found in Iraq, Jordan and the Lebanon as well as in Syria. I include in my statement

military rulers like Nasser and Kassim. For, though both the Egyptian and the Iraqi leaders found it necessary to overthrow what was undeservedly called democratic government in their respective countries, they did not do so in favour of communism but in the long-term interest of true social democracy as they conceive it. Their ideals (and they are very similar despite the personal differences between them) are those of progressive social reform, and they owe indirectly not a little to Nehru's inspiration and India's example. In their belief, however, these ideals can be translated into reality only by military rule for the time being. It must also be remembered that the union between Syria and Egypt, creating the United Arab Republic, was largely brought about by the initiative of the Syrian Baathists who, as indicated above, are reforming social democrats to whom Nehru and his philosophy have always made a strong appeal. What prompted them to seek union with Egypt was, above all, their fear of communist domination. Thus, it may be said that the first step towards concrete Arab unity was taken by an Arab socialist party whose thinking had always been much influenced by Nehru.

In the sphere of international relations too, Nehru has exercised a profound influence in shaping the Arab attitude since the war. The Arab states, recently freed from Western rule and wishing to be completely and genuinely independent, were extremely averse to alignment with Britain or America or NATO in the West-East cold war. Such an alignment would, to them, have been too reminiscent of the old days of colonial rule. They did not want to be under any Western influence, direct or indirect. Besides, they had no reason to quarrel with Russia. In the West, Russia might be seen as exercising a new kind of imperialism over her satellites. In the Arab world she was generally regarded as a potential friend, being the opponent of Western imperialism — the only imperialism the Arabs had ever experienced. The wish of the Arabs was, therefore, to be neutral as between the two power blocs, and to preserve their independence from domination by either. But by themselves the Arab countries would have found it

difficult to make of their neutralism a positive force in the world. They needed a great power to link themselves with in this attitude, and Nehru provided them with what they needed. His conception of the third force and of positive neutralism was eagerly accepted by the Arab nationalists. In him and in the nation he led they found a world figure and a world power round whom they could rally. He became the exponent of the foreign policy which all the Arab states, sooner or later, adopted as their own. In Iraq, the attempt by Nuri es Said to pursue the opposite policy and the conclusion of the Baghdad Pact, were among the principal causes of the revolution of July 1958.

These are the specific contributions of Nehru to the Arab resurgence. But beyond and above them all there are the intangibles of moral greatness and its subtle influence on those who are privileged to experience it. Many of the Arab leaders have met Nehru personally and experienced his greatness at first hand. All educated Arabs know him indirectly through his books (notably the *Autobiography*, *Glimpses of World History*, and *Letters to His Daughter*, which have been translated into Arabic and read by the vast Arab intelligentsia); as also his speeches and activities which are often prominently given in Arabic newspapers. To them all he is a great man—an oriental who has become a world statesman and leader, to whom homage is paid not only in the East but in the West. In their struggle for freedom and self-realisation, the Arabs have needed to regain faith in themselves and self-respect as easterners. Nehru's greatness has helped them to regain this faith and self-respect; and perhaps this is the greatest contribution a man can make to the progress of his fellow men and the advancement of human dignity.

Y. B. Chavan

The Unaging Youth

I HAD my first glimpse of Jawaharlal Nehru thirty years ago when he was passing through my home town of Karad on his way to Karnatak; Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya was with him.

I was fifteen then and he was forty; and, to a boy of fifteen, forty is relatively old. But, the youth that sat upon his face and effervesced through every gesture of his annihilated the time-distance between us; it made us akin.

From his lips emerged words that spoke of freedom, words burning, passionate and irresistible, words that cut deep into my soul and into the souls of all those who listened, giving us confidence, hope and an unswerving, unswervable resolve.

Here, we told ourselves, was a leader and liberator *par excellence,* the symbol of our aspirations, who shone like a flame showing our people, young and old, the path of emancipation.

At that time while I basked shyly, even a little nervously, in the glow of his presence, something of the strength and tenderness, youth and maturity, defiance and humility of his being entered into me and lifted me high above the ordinary and humdrum plane of this earth.

Comparing notes later, I was to find that others present on the occasion shared this first impact of Jawaharlal. The younger ones among us swore by the vigour of his intellect, the freshness of his outlook, and the radiance of his youth; the older folk nodded to one another, wondering at the wise head he carried on his young shoulders; and admiring women agreed with both.

It was seven years before I had another opportunity of seeing him at close quarters. The place was Karad again, and his theme this time was the world struggle for emancipation, the life-and-death struggle of subject peoples everywhere to free themselves from the shackles that bound them, a struggle of which India's was a part. The peculiarity and vitality of Jawaharlal's creed lay in its combination of nationalism with internationalism, and of both with the eternal gospel of human conduct. He looked upon freedom in its broadest, amplest, most comprehensive sense, that is, as freedom from want, fear and tyranny in any shape or form. He stirred us with his exposition of freedom and invested our national movement with a new meaning and significance. Thus inspired, I plunged into the struggle.

Two years later came the Second World War, and with it a time that tried man's soul. The world over, men and women, shocked by the barbarities around them, sat up to probe the anatomy of war and all that it meant in terms of human suffering and a set-back to civilization. The implications of a war of this kind exercised our minds sorely. To throw or not to throw our weight on the side of the Allies, that was the question; there were other questions, too, of a far-reaching nature: Was war the solution to human ills? What (or whose) ills was the present war designed to solve? Should blood be shed to attain political ends? What was it all about, anyway?

Deeply did we ponder these questions, and the more we pondered, the farther the answers receded. Within each one of us, it was an agonizing conflict. Here again, it was Jawaharlal who came to the rescue and gave us the lead. No, we could have nothing to do with a war of this kind: a war of aggrandisement and imperialism, of conquest and hate, a war for the continuance of colonialism, economic exploitation and power politics. In a war between two evils, we had no sides to take.

The youth of India rallied round Nehru, for he had all that youth had—vitality, glamour, dash—and all that youth lacked—experience, wisdom, judgment. Belonging though he did to a past generation, he spearheaded the present and

foresaw the future. So he does today: he merges in himself the role of three generations—the previous, the present and the next—not, indeed, to speak of the generations unborn.

During the last few years that it has been my good fortune to come in close touch with him, this has again been the dominating feature of his personality: the perennial season of spring in which he seems to live, his everlasting, indestructible youth. It is true, perhaps, that he can rage and thunder and be impetuous, but never spitefully or vaingloriously. In that lovable personality, there is an inexplicable charm which endears him to all, most of all to children for whom he has a special partiality.

Statesman, humanist, writer, philosopher, administrator, internationalist, patrician, lonely but sensitive to the farthest subconscious, Jawaharlal Nehru has so much of eternal spring in him that age cannot touch him. Yet, age and youth seem to mix in just the right proportion in the inexhaustible fountain of energy from which he draws his vitality. And now, at seventy, he may well consider that "to be seventy years young is far more cheerful and hopeful" (and, one may add, useful) "than to be forty years old."

N. C. Chatterjee

Flaws in the Legend

It is a significant fact that at a time when Prime Ministers of several countries in Europe and Asia have been eclipsed, Nehru remains the Prime Minister of the biggest Republic in the world, having survived many periods of testing, and maintaining his position unimpaired for more than a decade now. At first, people were under the impression that his rise to power in India was mostly due to the unstinted patronage that Mahatma Gandhi always gave him and the fortuitous combination of circumstances which had ushered in India's independence, particularly the disappearance at that time of Subhas Chandra Bose from the Indian scene and subsequently the somewhat peculiar course of politics adopted by my esteemed friend, Jayaprakash Narayan, but this is not a correct appraisal.

Speaking of Nehru's role in Indian politics I am reminded of a discussion I had, along with Syama Prasad Mookerjee who had then resigned from the Union Cabinet, with B. C. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal. Roy was anxious to bring Mookerjee into Bengali politics and wanted him to help the "problem province". Of course, things took a different turn. Ultimately, Mookerjee died in detention in Kashmir and Bengal and India were deprived of his leadership and the House of the People was robbed of one of its greatest parliamentarians. He had the unique capacity of imparting some of his ideals to his people, but he lacked the quality of Jawaharlal Nehru, which is not only to impart something to the people but

to absorb something from the people. As Roy then told me, "Jawaharlal Nehru can not only give to the people but he can also take from the people."

I have thought deeply over Roy's observations and, having watched the career of Nehru, both in Parliament and outside, I must as a friend and a critic, admit that Nehru possesses the peculiar capacity of not only absorbing the ideas, sentiments and aspirations but sometimes also the passing moods of his people. It is not merely his amazing health and vitality but some inborn capacity which made him first an acknowledged leader of the Indian freedom movement and subsequently head of the administration of free India.

Looking back, I remember that when I was a student in England, we became aware of this peculiar attribute in a great Englishman who was then making his mark in world history, David Lloyd George, and who later saved Britain from the menace of German imperialism in the First World War. Although he was born in Manchester, he was a Welshman to his fingertips. He lost his father at an early age but his career was dependent upon the affectionate upbringing of a charitable Welsh uncle. But that uncle had strength, ability and ambition, and impressed upon his nephew David that if he wanted to succeed in politics he should not only give but absorb the ideals and aspirations of the people and even interpret their passing moods or fancies to those around him. The nephew followed the advice and became great.

The same is true of Jawaharlal Nehru; he has an intuition, almost a power of divination, which enables him to probe into the minds and hearts of men, whether they are intellectuals or ordinary folk. I have had the good fortune to come across many such great men; but I often felt while sitting in Parliament or other gatherings that there was no one in India who could discern more clearly than Nehru did the moods of an assembly, a joint select committee, Parliament or even a public meeting. Further, he possesses the unique capacity of dealing with the mental and emotional processes of even an

incongruous or heterogeneous concourse; he always has his finger on the pulse of the people.

It is said of Lord Asquith that he was the last of the age which began with Gladstone. He breathed in a characteristic manner the spirit of that time which produced the glories of Midlothian as well as the chiselled eloquence of the great Irish Home Rule debates. This is equally true of Jawaharlal about whom it can be said that he is the last of the Gandhian era. Many people have questioned or doubted his faith in the spiritual mission of Gandhiji. Yet, if there is any leader in India who has imbibed the real spirit of Gandhiji, it is Nehru; this was more than proved at the time when India was engulfed in communal frenzy after partition. Again, it is Nehru's faith in the Gandhian principles that has kept India out of the cold war and although some of his actions have been criticised as equivocal, who can deny that his has been the major influence on the side of peace and against the continuance of an atmosphere of war in the world?

True, the great intellectual qualities of Nehru were not discovered at an early age but that is equally true of another world figure, Winston Churchill, who also like Nehru belonged to Harrow, which, as observed by Birkenhead, did not even suspect the greatness of Churchill, with the result that Lord Randolph Churchill died in complete ignorance of the fact that he had produced a son who was bound to be greater than himself. But this is not true of Nehru's father, Motilal, who was an eye-witness before he passed away to the rise of Jawaharlal as a shining star in the political firmament of India, though he also did not know that his son would ultimately become the political heir of Gandhiji and the first Prime Minister of free India.

I know there are hundreds of young men in Bengal and other parts of India who believe that Nehru as Prime Minister has become out of tune with the real progressive thought currents, and is not now as properly responsive to the urges and aspirations of his people as he used to be in the past. There is a sense of disappointment in them; and they regret the

disappearance of his earlier dynamism. But to my mind this is more due to the shortcomings of his colleagues than to any fault of his and the wrong atmosphere created around him by smaller men. That is why I often feel, in the interest of India, and more particularly in the interest of a progressive democracy, that it would be better both for him and the nation if Nehru could, at least for some time, get out of the trappings and responsibilities of office. He would then be freed of this hiatus; as also of the allegation that he is too addicted to popular applause to give a right lead or too much of an idealist to understand the real requirements of his country. In their eyes, his foreign policy is one of appeasement, particularly in regard to Goa, Kashmir and Tibet; and at best it can be tolerated as pacifism but can never be justified as being in the interest of India. Moreover, he has acquired a sense of immunity from all criticism and that is not good for the country.

That is why many competent men have observed that although Nehru has almost become a legend in his own lifetime, he has not shown the awareness — much less the alertness — that the realities of the Indian situation demand. Today, in Nehru's India, anti-national forces are still operating, fifth-columnists are still masquerading as nationalists under the patronage of his party and there is no true transformation of a stagnant and decadent culture into an organic socialistic society. Can the idol of resurgent nationalism that Nehru undoubtedly is really extricate himself "from the corrupt machine which crushes all integrity out of existence under its heavy burden of opportunism, snobbery, intrigue, patronage and power politics?" I remember the day in Parliament when Nehru reminded the Opposition that he was "one of the children of the Indian Revolution"; but the regret is that one who from a child has now become a builder is still not able to dissociate himself "from the steam-roller which crushes those who seek to build the bulwarks of freedom within their own nature".

Homi Mody

Obsession with Socialism

MEN OF the eminence of Jawaharlal Nehru do not easily lend themselves to a balanced appraisal of their personality and attainments. There would be strong lights or shadows on the canvas, according to one's measure of admiration for their achievements or disappointment at their failures.

How does one approach the task of delineating a man of such 'infinite variety' as Nehru? Should one see him as a dauntless fighter for freedom imbued with lofty ideals, or as the head of a government who is obliged from time to time to subordinate principles to the exigencies of the moment? Is one to think of him as the sworn enemy that he was of all that is unworthy and ignoble in public life, or as an administrator who has now and then to turn the blind eye to the corruption and malpractices which he finds around him? Is one to look upon him as an uncompromising champion of the oppressed and the down-trodden, or as a Foreign Minister who is sometimes driven to temporizing when faced with naked aggression on the part of particular countries. The critic has carefully to feel his way through this discordance between precept and practice.

The extent to which heredity and environment mould a man's character and personality is not always easy to assess. In the case of Nehru, an aristocratic background, a proud and imperious father, a lonely childhood and a Western upbringing and education, all played their part in creating the high-minded, strong-willed and impetuous person who rules the Indian

nation today and who, according to his own description, is "a queer mixture of the East and West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere". From this has stemmed the aloofness which has been the dominant characteristic of a personality of many contradictions, and to which may be attributed many of the weaknesses in his leadership.

Nehru's ascendency over the hearts and minds of his countrymen accentuates the authority and isolation of his position. No nation has given its leader the spontaneous and unquestioning loyalty and devotion which the people of India have showered on Nehru. Wherever he goes, people in their hundreds of thousands gather to see and hear him; they are stirred by his voice and presence even when they cannot quite comprehend his message. In turn, they seem to exercise a hypnotic influence over him, which is apt to drive him further into himself and make his thinking still more unrealistic.

Charming and considerate on most occasions, as few men can be, there is a barrier which divides Nehru from his closest associates. This has been unfortunate both for Nehru and for India. The men who surround him, able as they are, somehow feel themselves inhibited and seldom make an effort to influence his thinking on vital issues. It is a failure for which it is difficult to find an excuse. On almost all important matters, what Nehru thinks today becomes the policy of his Government tomorrow.

Nehru's predominance arises from many things — outstanding service to the cause of freedom, a high sense of purpose, intellectual attainments and tremendous mass appeal. If dictatorship can ever be justified, the justification is to be found here in no small measure. But one-man rule, except in a national emergency, stands self-condemned in a society governed by free institutions, and the power which Nehru has enjoyed has been destructive of many of the values for which democracy stands. The picture is changing, however, and there is growing disillusionment over the leadership of Nehru and the policies and actions of his Government.

To understand Nehru the Prime Minister, one must go back to the pursuits and influences of his formative years.

Harrow and Cambridge had but little changed the waywardness and aloofness which his sheltered boyhood had given him, and when he returned to India it was as a restive youth belonging neither to the East nor to the West and having no settled moorings. The national movement absorbed him, but as yet his course had not been clearly charted; he was still feeling his way. It was not until 1916 that he met the Mahatma. It is not surprising he could not understand that extraordinary individual who was so soon to dominate and transfigure the Indian scene. Before long, however, Nehru recognized the amazing qualities of leadership of the man whose struggles in South Africa had captured the imagination of his countrymen, and he became a staunch, though often rebellious, follower. No two men could be more unlike — Nehru the radical and agnostic, very modern in his outlook and habits, and Gandhi with his inner voice, deep spiritualism, sublimation of poverty, fasts and silences.

While Nehru rationalised and fell in line with his leader's political philosophy and programme, it was an uneasy relationship and differences arose from time to time between him and Gandhi backed by the old guard of the Congress. These disagreements were accentuated still further when Nehru tried to force the pace on social and economic issues. The liberation of the country from a foreign yoke was, however, the supreme task before the country and, whatever differences arose — and they were sometimes fundamental — they were ultimately resolved, and nationalist India under Gandhi's banner resolutely marched towards her freedom.

Nehru was now free to give practical shape to the ideas which had dominated him since his early days. Starting from a vague attachment to Fabian Socialism, he had been attracted towards Marxism which, as he said, had lighted up many a dark corner of his mind. Its appeal to him lay in its pseudo-scientific outlook and he came to look upon socialism not merely as an economic doctrine but as the only answer to the ills of a decadent capitalism, as its critics viewed it. And so it was that, after the new democracy had had time to stabilise

itself, the Congress put out, some four years ago at its session in Avadi, the creed of a socialistic pattern of society. It appeared then to many as no more than the enunciation of a doctrine of social justice, providing for a fairer deal to the under-privileged and a more equitable distribution of the resources of the community. Few were prepared for the large doses of doctrinaire socialism which were rapidly to follow. And if, as it is legitimate to infer, the Ooty Seminar represents the thinking of our top planners, enthusiastically supported by the statisticians and economists who have clambered on to the band-wagon of the Congress, India may soon be on her way to an extreme form of socialism. If and when that happens, it will be the first democracy in the world to model its economy on the pattern of Marxism.

It is significant how tenaciously Nehru has clung to the doctrines he imbibed in the years of his youth. The transformation of nineteenth century capitalism into the peoples' capitalism of our times, as exemplified in the U.S.A. and many countries of Europe, has not changed his convictions. He is fond of talking of the atomic age and of ridiculing what he regards as outmoded political and economic concepts. He does not seem to realize that his own thinking is still wedded to 'isms' that have had their day. The sort of Welfare State he is seeking to build in such haste cannot but involve considerable hardship to large sections of the people and serious impairment of political and economic liberty. Taxation in India is already at a level where, in its range and incidence, it has become the most oppressive in the world; there has been a spate of legislation regimenting all business and other activities; and a vast and unwieldy bureaucratic machine has been set up which, by the very nature of the tasks imposed upon it, is becoming increasingly unresponsive to the needs and urges of the people. Inefficiency, corruption and misuse of authority are inherent in a system under which the State is all the time growing and the individual is shrinking.

In these ten years, thousands of crores have been spent on the planned development of the country; yet the basic needs

of the people are still far from being satisfied and shortages and high prices have become chronic features of our economy. We are told the country is going to have a much bigger and bolder Third Five-Year Plan; if that comes about, our problems may well prove to be even more intractable and the strains and stresses on our economy may become more rigorous.

Nehru has undoubtedly many of the elements of greatness about him. His stature, despite all the criticisms of his policy, has grown enormously in the outside world. Here is a man who can "walk with kings nor lose the common touch". Is it too much to hope he will turn in his steps and devote his great gifts to the pursuit of ideas and ideals which have more relevance to the conditions of the free world in this age of the common man?

N. B. Khare

The Angry Aristocrat

EVEN HIS worst critic will have to admit that Nehru is a world figure in modern times. He is a great man and has been a great actor on the Indian political stage. But his politics which resulted ultimately in the acceptance of the partition of India on a religious basis has caused eternal damage; this is, indeed, tragic because India's greatness must remain greater than Nehru's. He has been singularly lucky in being born the son of Motilal Nehru, a prince among lawyers, and later in having become the heir of Mahatma Gandhi. This has helped him greatly, and was largely responsible for making him great. Although the masses gather round him wherever he goes, he is really not a man of the masses. He is an aristocrat, and has never known what poverty is; how can he then understand the problems of our starving millions?

Nehru's is a very complex personality. As he himself has explained in his *Autobiography*, he is English by education, Muslim by culture and Hindu by an accident of birth. Maybe, on account of this, his words and actions appear to emanate from a split personality; there is always a wide gap between his pronouncement and performance. Pronouncements, being spontaneous, are generally devout, but performances, being deliberate and calculated, are not so devout. Naturally, in spite of his popularity, he is subjected to pointed criticism by various parties and from different angles. His attitude towards his critics, therefore, is not uniform but

disparate, depending on the party to which the critic belongs and the content of his criticism.

It is well known that in the political history of India, the moderates regarded the advent of British rule as a godsend, and were highly critical of Congress ways and means. Nehru reacted strongly against their criticism and used intemperate language against them. In his *Autobiography*, he has ridiculed their attitude to the British Government, by comparing it with the attitude of a faithful shepherdess who said "I am most free from one fear at least; I can't be ravished, I am so willing."

To my mind Nehru's attitude to Pakistan is eminently comparable with the attitude of the moderates to the then British Government. Howsoever bitter and damaging Pakistan's criticism of India may be, Nehru replies only with a verbal protest, like a lipstick confined to the lips. And the storehouse of these verbal protests is inexhaustible like the *thali* of Draupadi, which could produce any amount of food at any time by divine grace.

In other respects also Nehru's actions generally belie his words. All his life until installed in power, he was a bitter opponent of the Commonwealth idea. He used to emphasise that the Commonwealth was only a device of the stronger races to exploit the weaker ones. It would be worthwhile here to quote an extract from his presidential address at the Lahore session of the Congress in 1929. He said: "Independence for us means complete freedom from British domination and British imperialism. The British Empire of today dominates many millions of people and holds large areas of the world's surface against the will of their inhabitants. The embrace of the British Empire is a dangerous thing." But, ultimately, even after the Constituent Assembly of India had voted in favour of India being a sovereign democratic republic, it was Nehru who visited England in April-May 1949, and committed this republic to membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Indian Independence Act passed by the British Parliament in July 1947 was based upon the Statute of Westminster.

As suggested in this Statute, a Commonwealth conference was held in London in April 1949, attended by the Prime Ministers or representatives of the U.K., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Nehru's request to allow India to remain in the Commonwealth in spite of being a republic was considered by the conference and accepted. Nehru informed the conference that in order to enable India to remain in the Commonwealth, she was prepared to regard the British Sovereign as the Head of the Commonwealth. To accept the British Sovereign even as a symbolic head of the Commonwealth and, thus, of India voluntarily, depreciates the very quality of our independence. It is regrettable that a man who had spent his whole life ridiculing the Commonwealth should have decided to do so. That is why the shrewd Winston Churchill, who was then the Leader of the Opposition, welcomed Nehru's proposal at once and said that it enhanced the prestige of the British monarch in the whole world.

Many Congress and pro-Congress politicians did not like India's membership of the Commonwealth and were critical of Nehru's stand. But, Sardar Patel and Pandit Pant were very happy. Sardar Patel regarded it as a triumph of Nehru and Pandit Pant said that India had not joined the Commonwealth, but the Commonwealth had joined India. It must be said to the credit of Nehru that he saw the propriety of the criticism and frankly and boldly said, "If you talk about British imperialism and the rest today, I do not think that you are 100 per cent. wrong because there is a bit of it left." Our Republic, therefore, can be aptly described as a "Royal Republic" — a unique institution in the world, furnishing a fine example of the figure of speech known as oxymoron.

Again, Nehru was a bitter opponent of the very conception of Pakistan. He used to say that the two-nation theory was fantastic nonsense. What of one Jinnah, he said, when a thousand Jinnahs would not be able to take it from him! But, ultimately, one Jinnah received Pakistan on a plate from Nehru, having tactically forced the Congress into accepting

his scheme. And still Congressmen have the temerity to say that they won Swaraj through Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent non-co-operation, without shedding a drop of blood. But let me say to the credit of Nehru again, that at the time of the partition holocaust, he understood the real situation and said: "The nation had to wade through an ocean of blood and tears. Such was the crisis and such were the times that people showed profound disbelief in and dislike of Gandhism, which seemed till yesterday the ruling belief of the majority. Blood, tears, sighs and sorrow proved that Gandhism was a dreamland. The situation was utterly volcanic and it disclosed that the whole range of consequences was the outcome of those beliefs, opinions and actions." Maulana Azad, in his posthumous autobiography published by Humayun Kabir, has criticised Nehru in the matter of partition. Says the Maulana: "Jawaharlal first reacted violently but within a month of Lord Mountbatten's arrival in India, Jawaharlal the firm opponent of partition had become, if not a supporter, at least acquiescent towards the idea . . . Jawaharlal was greatly impressed by Lord Mountbatten, but even greater was the influence of Lady Mountbatten . . . . She is not only extremely intelligent, but has a most attractive and friendly temperament." To say the least, this criticism by the Maulana of a life-long friend and comrade is inelegant; but Nehru's biographer, Frank Moraes has gone a step further. Says he, in his book: "On Nehru particularly, Lady Mountbatten made an immediate impact . . . . She sensed that what Nehru most wanted and did not know how to achieve was to relax. And in the coming months at the height of many tense grave crises, she was able to coax him into a few moments of relaxation, in company, or along with her husband or daughter, or by herself." Such criticism should be unwelcome but, I find that Nehru has not cared to repudiate it, perhaps because the Maulana was a friend and Moraes is a friendly biographer.

But towards his critics Nehru is harsh and intolerant. In the second inquiry into the Mundhra affair, Mr. Vivian Bose,

a former Judge of the Supreme Court, gave a finding based on evidence led before him that the purchase of the Mundhra shares by the Life Insurance Corporation was a *quid pro quo* for Mundhra's princely donations to the Congress fund. On account of this finding, given by a very responsible and a respected person, Nehru became so irritated that he openly made certain improper remarks about the Judge, charging him with lack of intelligence in passing the strictures on the Congress. Nehru forgot that such outburst from a democratic Prime Minister could undermine the people's faith in the administration of justice. A storm of criticism rose against him. Ultimately, he apologised.

Recently, C. Rajagopalachari, a life-long colleague of Nehru in the Congress and a former Governor-General of India, launched the Swatantra Party to oppose some of Nehru's policies which, according to the former, were wrong and likely to lead the country to disaster. Nehru ridiculed "C. R." in such disparaging terms that even some of his own colleagues were surprised. To quote his biographer again, "...but in India today there is no one to restrain or guide Nehru. He is Caesar, and from Caesar one can appeal only to Caesar".

For my part I have been a constant critic of the Congress for two decades and consequently of Nehru as its leader and of his policies.

Of my earlier past, when I was Chief Minister of the Central Provinces, I will not speak because I believe in party loyalty; but after I left the Congress and became a member of the Constituent Assembly I was treated no better. I remember on December 3, Prof. N. G. Ranga (now the Chairman of the Swatantra Party) speaking on a cut-motion, indulged in a panegyric of Nehru for raising the international prestige of India and praised his sister Vijayalakshmi Pandit for walking out of a U.N. meeting along with Pakistan to protest against the partition of Palestine. In my speech on this motion, I said that since I had no yardstick to measure the international prestige of India, I could not give any opinion on it. Walking out was usual with Congressmen

but it was surprising that those who consented to the partition of India should have protested against the partition of a small territory like Palestine and walked out hand in hand with Pakistan. In my speech I made many points on the position of the Indians in South Africa, Burma and Ceylon. I concluded my speech with the remark that I saw one great advantage in our foreign policy, namely, that we could now appoint as many ambassadors or representatives in foreign countries as we liked and thus help our friends, relations and admirers.

In his speech, Nehru did not reply to any of the points raised by me but indulged in a personal attack on me. He said: "I am very glad that Dr. Khare took part in this debate and made the debate lively. He criticised our foreign policy. I grant his right of criticism. When he was on this side of the House, it was difficult to understand his speeches and now when he is on the side of the Opposition, it has become much more difficult to gather any meaning in his speeches. His criticism will have no effect because it was only meaningless jargon." The *National Call*, of Delhi, in its issue of December 5, 1947, characterised this attack on me as "hitting below the belt". In my next speech, I gave a fitting reply, and remarked that my criticism did not have any effect, not because it was meaningless jargon, but because Nehru had behind him serried ranks of voting automatons who had pawned their conscience and commonsense to him.

Once, in Parliament, Nehru got confused while making a speech. Generally, in every session of the Lok Sabha, the Government's foreign policy is endorsed. On one such occasion, he said in effect, "China is represented in the U.N. by the Government of Formosa, which is only a small island. Communist China, which forms nearly one-fourth of the world, is not at all represented in the U.N. Therefore, the position of China in the U.N. is unreal." As soon as Nehru uttered this sentence, I got up and asked Nehru, "If as you say the position of China in the U.N. is unreal, for the same reason, is it not a fact that the U.N. itself is unreal." On hearing me, Nehru

appeared to be a bit confused, and said, "I do not know what is real or unreal, but the honourable member's nimble wit is very real."

The Nehru-Liaqat Pact was signed on April 8, 1950. I was then the President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha. As I was convinced that the Pact was detrimental to India's interest, I carried on propaganda against it and against Pakistan's activities on the border. At the very thought or mention of the Hindu Mahasabha, Nehru becomes irritated. He criticised and condemned my attitude, by saying that it was not good that Dr. Khare should carry on propaganda in his usual, pugnacious and war-like manner at the border of Pakistan; but I did not desist. Therefore, in an Independence Day speech from the ramparts of the Red Fort, he said he would sweep away the Mahasabhites with a broom-stick. This was not a manly utterance and justifies the comment of his biographer Moraes that Nehru has a streak of femininity which occasionally finds vent in petulance. But in the next thirty-five days, Nehru had improved on himself and at the Nasik Congress on September 20, 1950, he threatened the Mahasabhites that they would be crushed, if necessary. Do such words become a democratic Prime Minister wedded to non-violence?

In conclusion, I have to point out that in spite of all his faults, foibles and failures, Nehru has endeared himself to the Indian people and is hailed by them as an international asset. But, in India, mental slavery and hero-worship have no limits; there are people who even worship him as the tenth *Avatar* of Vishnu — a nice psychological revenge on a declared agnostic. Fortunately, he has dismissed this manifestation as nonsense. May he live long and make India strong, and guide her on the right path.

E. M. S. Namboodiripad

A Democrat in the Dock

"WOULD YOU call Prime Minister Nehru's Government an astonishing failure, as he called your Government of Kerala in a recent statement?"—this was one of the questions put to me by a journalist at a press conference held in Delhi after the Communist Ministry had been dismissed.

I did not answer that question for several reasons, one of these being that it would be wrong to make such over-simplified assessments of a government that has several achievements to its credit.

For, let us not forget that the Government of Prime Minister Nehru has played a great and creditable role in creating what has now come to be known as the "Bandung Spirit".

Nor should it be forgotten that the lead given by the Prime Minister in the formulation of India's Five-Year Plans is of great and positive significance not only for India but for other under-developed countries as well. The three new steel plants and several other projects, on which India's industrialisation depends so much, show the path which under-developed countries of the world will have to take if they are to catch up with the developed countries of the world.

The Prime Minister's emphasis on the secular character of the State and his forthright denunciation of obscurantism and superstition are also of great importance to a country which is intent on developing itself on modern, democratic lines.

How is it possible for one to ignore all these positive aspects of Nehru's domestic policy, particularly when one sees them

all in contrast to the medievalism, obscurantism and ideological backwardness shown by the leaders of certain other newly-independent but under-developed countries?

It would, however, be equally wrong for us to accept the Prime Minister's 12-year-old management of our country's affairs as a great success. On the other hand, when one puts the whole record of the last twelve years in the proper historical perspective, one would be forced to admit that the further the nation proceeds along the path outlined by the Prime Minister, the further the country seems to move away from the goal set by him and all of us.

It is conventional to begin a review of India's progress by looking into the working of the Five-Year Plans. The great hydro-electric projects, the steel plants, other heavy industry projects, the community development schemes, all these are viewed as indicative of the great progress registered by our country under Nehru's inspiring leadership. On the other hand, it is pointed out by critics that all these achievements have not brought any real and lasting solution to the most acute problems which our common people are facing, such as food shortage, high prices, unemployment and under-employment. Contrasts are in this connection made, on the one hand, between India and such neighbouring countries as Pakistan, and, on the other hand, between India and People's China.

I would, however, refrain from adopting this criterion for testing the domestic policies as formulated by Nehru. It is obvious that, if such a criterion were adopted, our Prime Minister's policy should be considered successful in comparison with that of such countries as Pakistan, but a failure when compared with, say, People's China. That would naturally raise certain basic questions of policy and ideology, such as, "Why can India not register the same progress as was registered by People's China? Is it possible for India to have the same 'leap-forward' type of development as China is having without a change in her basic economic policies?" But, I would confine myself to the limits set by Nehru and his colleagues to our

economic development, or, in other words, I would take it for granted that all that is possible in the circumstances is being done in developing our economy.

I would, at the same time, take up another aspect of Nehru's domestic policy. That aspect is: How far is our national leadership able to preserve and develop parliamentary democracy, individual liberty and other values of life? This, after all, is the crux of the 'basic approach' supposedly being taken by Nehru—an approach which is supposed to make India's economy and policy superior to those of other countries.

We are told that it does not matter to us if our progress in the field of economic development is a little slower than that of China, the Soviet Union and other socialistic countries. For, as opposed to this slow progress of economic development, we have a securer basis for political democracy and individual liberty. The socialist countries, we are told, have a faster pace of development at the cost of political democracy, individual liberty and other values which are dearer to us than mere material progress.

I would not here care to argue whether this approach is correct or not. I would take it for granted that this is the approach that we are all taking, whether correct or not. I would then proceed to examine whether the Prime Minister's management of our country's affairs is proving a success or failure from this standpoint.

Let us take political democracy. It is true that we have adopted a Constitution which, to all appearances, is democratic. An appropriate time for passing a verdict on that Constitution will come in a few months' time, on the tenth anniversary of our Republican Constitution on January 26, 1960. But, at any time, it would be difficult to refrain from a reference to the recent developments in Kerala. For, our Constitution is to be judged not only from what is written in it but from how it is applied in practice, applied not in normal times but in times of crisis.

The old Republican Constitutions of many European Countries were fine specimens of parliamentary democracy

if they were to be judged from what were written in those Constitutions. But most of them were bent by Fascists, Nazis and other enemies of democracy to suit their own purpose. Our Indian Constitution cannot, by any means, be called more democratic or republican in spirit than, say, the Weimar Constitution of the post-First World War Germany. And, it was under the Weimar Constitution that Hitler was allowed to establish his "open-terror dictatorship".

It would be idle for us just to point to the fine and noble sentiments given expression to in the Preamble and in the body of the Constitution, and then triumphantly declare that ours is a model parliamentary democracy. It would, on the other hand, be incumbent on us all to be vigilant against every move that is made against the spirit of parliamentary democracy embodied in that Constitution.

What happened in Kerala during May, June and July 1959, is of significance. It is not necessary for me to give a detailed description of it, for the basic facts are clear.

I would not dwell at great length on the unconstitutionality either of the 'direct action' organised from below by the Congress, or of Central intervention. I would only point out here how dangerous a precedent this can become in other States and under different circumstances.

Let me take only one instance, the case of Uttar Pradesh.

Here, the Congress itself is in power but it is so riven internally that it cannot be sure of its position for ever. No less than one-third of the members of the Congress Party made a written statement on the floor of the Legislature expressing their loss of confidence in the Ministry and virtually threatening to join the Opposition in throwing out the Ministry if they did not get adequate satisfaction.

This is a situation in which either the differences within the ruling party can be patched up, or an open ministerial crisis will develop. It raises nevertheless a question which is far more important than what the actual course in U.P. will prove to be: If the dissident Congressmen of U.P. were to follow in the footsteps of the Kerala Opposition and start a

programme of direct action, if the other Opposition parties were to join in this programme of direct action and if finally the Congress High Command were more in sympathy with the dissidents than the ruling group, is it not possible that the same course of Presidential rule will be taken in U.P. as in Kerala?

Such an eventuality may or may not actually take place in U.P. Can it, however, be denied that the way things are developing inside the Congress Party in the various States of India, developments like the one envisaged above are probable in certain circumstances? For, after all, despite the tall claims made by Nehru and other leaders about "the great and noble national organisation" that the Congress is supposed to be, the Congress is fast becoming a convenient meeting ground for innumerable groups and factions, each trying to get some advantage over the other. The one factor that has so far saved the Congress from total disintegration is the towering personality of Nehru. The question, "After Nehru What?" which is on everybody's lips today is, therefore, a magnificent tribute to Nehru's incomparable role in India's political framework as much as a regrettable commentary on the inner rot of the Congress machinery.

The length to which the U.P. crisis has gone legitimately raises the question whether the tragic developments that are apprehended after Nehru will not take place even during his lifetime. If they should, India will not be too far away from the type of open military rule established in certain countries.

It is futile under these circumstances for Nehru to expatiate on political democracy, individual liberty and other values. Recognition of the danger to democracy inherent in one-party rule established by a party which faces a deep internal crisis is the minimum that one expects of Nehru. If he does recognise it, he will have crowned a long life of passionate service to India with a tangible, realistic step towards the preservation of democracy in India for all time.

5.

ACROSS THE FRONTIERS

The evolution of a revolutionary doctrine of positive neutrality to subserve international peace does not necessarily presuppose its universal acceptance. In this section Nehru's foreign policy is under scrutiny by competent observers who weigh in the balance two approaches to a common goal. On the one hand, his incomparable role in the awakening of subject peoples and his impassioned defence of the Commonwealth association draw unstinted praise; on the other, attention is focussed on the limitations of the Panchshila both in theory and practice, especially in the background of cold war politics.

M. C. Chagla

Fundamentals of Policy

INDIA'S FOREIGN policy is the extension into external affairs of her traditions, history and philosophy. It is not a series of expedients based on *ad hoc* decisions. On the contrary, it has had a coherent continuity. At the outset it was scoffed at and ridiculed, but today there is a growing awareness, even in countries which are not too well disposed towards her attitude in world affairs, that the role India has played was the only one she could have consistently with her own security and, what is more, in the larger interest of world peace.

In this, India has been peculiarly fortunate as her Prime Minister is also the Minister in charge of External Affairs. It is very rarely that the two offices are combined. In India especially with the problems that she has had to face since independence the office of Prime Minister involved strains and stresses which would have overwhelmed anyone less robust and strong, both physically and intellectually, than her Prime Minister. But he has succeeded for twelve long years not only as the unchallenged leader of India but as a statesman whose international status has grown with the passage of time.

The greatest contribution that Nehru has made to international affairs is the doctrine of co-existence. He realised early in his career as a foreign minister that the only way to peace was the lessening of tensions between different countries and establishing goodwill and tolerance between them. A gentle and dignified approach even in matters where he felt strongly was adopted by him rather than an angry or violent approach,

with the result that he succeeded where others failed. This is the Gandhian technique. He has illustrated it constantly in his approach to Pakistan. No country could have taxed his patience more or put his belief in this doctrine more severely to the test than that country. With her leaders indulging in bellicose propaganda and rattling the sabre, with perpetual border incidents, with unarmed planes being shot down, with the temper of the Indian people rising, Nehru has gone on preaching restraint and patience in dealings with Pakistan.

Very recently he was deeply stirred by what happened in Tibet. Freedom is always dear to him and suppression of the freedom of that small country touched him deeply. But ignoring the storm that broke out in India, he pleaded for the continuance of India's good relations with China and called for dignity and restraint when responsible statesmen in China were attacking his good faith and accusing his country of expansionism. Viewed objectively and dispassionately his policy with regard to Tibet was the only correct and the only possible policy. This policy may ultimately help to bring about better relations between China and the Dalai Lama and to restore the autonomy of Tibet. Strong condemnation and diatribes are futile unless they can be backed by action. And surely India could not march an army into Tibet to restore the Dalai Lama to his throne. What did the Western Powers achieve in Hungary by all the strong language that they used against Russia? Nehru did not want to follow that example.

A corollary to the doctrine of co-existence is the principle of non-alignment. Alignment with one set of powers or the other only increases tensions and conflicts and widens the area of the cold war. By being uncommitted a nation creates a climate of peace and the more a nation is uncommitted the greater will be the climate of peace in the world. It is because of this that Nehru set his face against all military pacts and alliances. He has refused either to be persuaded or coerced into taking sides. He knows how intense is India's need for foreign exchange in planned efforts to industrialise herself and change over from an underdeveloped to a developed country and from a

poor into a prosperous country. He also knows that most of this foreign exchange must come from the United States of America. If India were to enter into a military alliance with that country she could get from her what she wants and more. But India is not for sale. If the price to be paid for foreign aid is the giving up of her independence of action, then no Indian worth his name will be prepared to pay that price.

For a long time, official opinion in America was very hostile to India. She was branded as neutralist, while Pakistan was praised to the sky as a friend of peace, democracy and freedom. Of late, the situation has radically changed. There is greater awareness and deeper appreciation of what India stands for. It is now being understood that Indians are not neutral in the sense of being passive, timid, not having the courage to do the right thing and sitting on the fence. Americans now know that India's foreign policy is dynamic, that although Indians are uncommitted to the cold war, they are deeply and irrevocably committed to peace and freedom.

Tibet tested the correctness of the Prime Minister's policy. It was felt that what happened in Tibet constituted a threat to India's northern frontier and that Indians would now admit their mistake, put on sack cloth and ashes and ask for military aid and join the Baghdad Pact. Nehru rightly pointed out that one does not change one's principles because someone else departs from them or violates them. And even assuming that China has not remained true to Panchshila, India must adhere to what she had always preached and remain steadfast in her faith that Panchshila was the only ultimate way to peace. Pakistan was very solicitous about India's safety but the Prime Minister politely told her that the best defense was goodwill towards each other and not piling up of arms and armaments and signing of military pacts. Foreign observers have realised — and Bevan is one of them — that the world should express its gratitude to India's Prime Minister for maintaining peace on her long northern frontier. If she broke off with China and her relations became strained, Indians would have to spend millions of rupees on defending her northern frontier, and thus divert

some of the funds which India so badly needs for raising the standard of living of her own people.

Nehru's policy towards China has been not only friendly but realistic. He has rightly taken the view that the communist regime in China must be recognized because it is an established fact, and agreement or disagreement with communist ideology has no relevance to the question of recognition. Equally realistic is his view about admission of China into the United Nations. He cannot possibly understand how the United Nations can be considered to represent all the nations of the world when almost a continent of six hundred million people is kept outside its pale.

The Prime Minister himself is a child of revolutionary nationalism in India. He has therefore deep sympathy with revolutionary nationalism the world over. He fought colonialism in India to achieve freedom for his country. He therefore has moulded his foreign policy so as to give whatever support he can legitimately give to countries in Asia and Africa which are seeking to get rid of the colonial yoke. In consequence, Arab nationalism in the Middle East and the resurgent African nationalism look upon Nehru as their greatest friend and well-wisher.

Before freedom, Gandhiji was not very much interested in international politics. Nehru, who was always passionately interested in what was happening in the world outside India and in the struggle for liberation of dependent countries, was the conscience-keeper of Gandhiji as far as external affairs were concerned. It is well known that all resolutions passed by the Congress dealing with the world situation were drafted by him and he always carried with him the Working Committee which accepted his opinion as to the attitude that India should take up with regard to these affairs. But even so, the Prime Minister has been considerably influenced in laying down the foreign policy of India by Gandhian philosophy. The principle of co-existence emanated largely from the great lesson that Gandhiji preached about peace and non-violence and Nehru never tires of pointing out to the people of India that the proper approach to any question not only of domestic policy

but of foreign policy is the Gandhian approach. There may be many short-cuts to India's international difficulties, especially with regard to Tibet and relations with China, to Pakistan and to Goa, but the Prime Minister refuses to take them because they involve a sacrifice of the principle which he always keeps before him. He believes that the way to peace lies through goodwill and understanding between nations and however long and difficult the path may be, it is the only path that India can tread. Furthermore, Nehru sincerely believes that in the fullness of time every country will tread the same path.

There is no aspect of India's foreign policy which is more clear and emphatic than her refusal to enter into any military pact or alliances. In a world where there are two strong military blocs, where there is imminent danger of a devastating war breaking out, with Pakistan being a member of one military bloc and Russia and China across the frontier being on the other side, the Prime Minister has refused to be cajoled or intimidated into joining one or the other bloc. It is a tribute to the statesmanship of the Prime Minister that an uncommitted India is internationally more respected than if she had been a camp-follower of one or the other group. No foreign minister in the world today commands greater respect not only in his own country but in the world outside than India's Prime Minister who has held the portfolio of External Affairs with such distinction since India became free.

Charles Malik

Limitations of Neutrality

I BELONG to a generation that was profoundly moved by India's struggle for freedom and independence. We followed India's developments with the deepest concern. The events in the personal lives of Gandhi, Nehru, Jinnah and Nehru's father were almost personal events in our own lives. The great Arabic poet Shawki wrote a poem for Gandhi at the time of the Round Table Conference in 1929 (it could have been in 1931). I memorized that wonderful poem and I used to repeat it to intimate friends and at times to myself while walking alone, and every time it brought tears to my eyes. There was something elemental, cosmic, unspeakably human and spiritual, almost transcendental, in the spectacle of a great people summoned to seek freedom not through hatred and war but through peaceful disobedience and through the example of voluntary personal suffering. If we prayed, our prayer, whether or not we uttered it, always included the yearning that voluntary suffering for a good and noble cause go not unrewarded and that truth and purity prevail.

When the freedom of India was proclaimed in 1947 everybody felt himself before an event of the first historic magnitude. No event was more determinant of the future political development of Asia and Africa than the emergence of India and Pakistan. The statesmen, both Indian and British, who were associated with this event have won for themselves a unique position of honour in history. The decision of the two old-new nations to retain some form of friendly relationship with the

British world through the system of the Commonwealth (conceivable only on the peculiar presuppositions of the British mind) was equally laden with destiny for the history of the world.

I have followed the developments of the last twelve years in the great sub-continent with the deepest personal interest. One is not now called upon to assess the total significance of Nehru's leadership during this period, but in my mind five things stand out: the adoption and cultivation of representative government through free and democratic institutions; the serious and responsible grappling with the immense social and economic problems of the nation; the retention and cementing of the unity of the Republic through the great leadership that has been displayed; the leading international role that India has played, especially at the United Nations; and the bringing of questions of principle (such as equality, freedom, non-discrimination, human rights, humanity, peace) to bear upon political questions. These are solid and great achievements for which not only the Indian people themselves but all lovers of freedom everywhere should be grateful.

Every believer in man, his freedom and his dignity, has a stake in the success, the prosperity and the stability of India. One of the best peaceful ways in which the realm of freedom can help itself is to help India make of her democracy a resounding success. Freedom, the human person, representative government, friendly openness to the world—all these positive ingredients of Indian life should never be allowed to weaken or lapse where a little care and concern from the outside can make a decisive difference in preserving and strengthening them. If the political, industrial and intellectual leaders of the free world make a maximum concerted effort to help India to face and meet the enormous challenges besetting her path, an act of statesmanship of the first order will have been accomplished. Since India bears upon so many crucial situations, such an act of statesmanship should be so conceived and so executed as to leave no room for doubt in anybody's mind that a healthy, happy, free and friendly India is a boon of strength

and security both to herself, to her immediate neighbours and to the world.

On the matter of neutrality I have not always seen eye to eye with Nehru. A thorough philosophical and political-historical examination of this question is not possible in the small space available. But many distinctions have to be made. One distinction is surely between what is universally valid and what is valid for a particular situation. Two maxims are certainly universally valid: that every arrangement should be for peaceful and defensive purposes only, and that every nation has the inherent right to look after its own security. But to say that no nation should enter into any military understanding with any other nation is obviously wrong. For, what if the understanding is purely defensive, and what if national security requires it? And would the world really be more peaceful, less tense and more secure if all military understandings were abolished? To say that because my situation appears to make it possible for me to feel secure without political and military entanglements, others must all adopt my policy and the world will then be happier, is clearly to say too much. Others may have their own compulsions and I cannot set myself up as a judge of their rectitude or probity of mind.

It follows that I cannot be too careful in trying to induce others or even in suggesting to them to follow my example in these matters, for how do I know I may not be misleading them? A positive compact to come to the assistance of others when they are in trouble has this saving grace about it even if it should mislead them, namely, that I bear joint responsibility with them when trouble comes as a result of my misleading advice. But a negative compact that all of us should be free of any alignment, even of alignment between the unaligned, has no saving grace about it whatsoever when trouble strikes: the victim has to struggle all alone and my own logic forbids me and forbids others to come to his aid.

The concept of positive collective security then, especially to those who are small and weak or to those who have common

interests or a common general outlook, is not nonsense in a world full of danger and aggressive design, and there is nothing either in the original idea of the United Nations or in its Charter, even apart from the permissive regional provisions, that restricts all collective security arrangements to the world organization. One may have as his own special doctrine that the United Nations should, or one may even think that it does, afford sufficient security for all, and one is certainly at liberty to try to convert others to his view; but until they are converted, it remains only his special doctrine. One not only may but has every right to regard it as his mission to help in strengthening the United Nations so as to render all special supplementary security arrangements superfluous, but until the United Nations really attains this stature, no amount or degree of moralizing, no matter how exalted its source or sincere its motive, is going to convince others that such supplementary arrangements are wicked. The careful pondering of the verbatim records of the Bandung Conference of 1955, especially those of the secret sessions of the Political Committee, will abundantly reward any student of these questions.

Another distinction is between military neutrality and political neutrality. If one has no military agreements with others, he may still be politically aligned or unaligned with them. Both his form of government and his fundamental policies may still range him with others or against them. A country enjoying free representative government is to that extent not neutral with respect to systems of dictatorship or totalitarianism or strict one-party rule. And concerning specific international issues one may still find oneself vigorously supporting the causes of certain countries or peoples with whom one is not formally aligned at all. In a fast-shrinking world political neutrality is highly ambiguous. There is a real sense in which everyone is on the spot and must take a stand sooner or later.

One may wish to stay outside the tensions of the cold war. But in that case a serious dilemma is posed. The underdeveloped cannot develop themselves without the financial, economic,

scientific and technological assistance of the developed. These efficient causes of development exist only in the Soviet Union, in Europe and in North America. But it is precisely between these three that the cold war rages. If the "neutral" accepts assistance from one side only, he is likely with time to cease to be neutral. To avoid this eventuality and since he must have this outside assistance to be able to develop himself, he falls back upon the expedient of accepting assistance from both sides. That is viewed as the very mark of neutrality. But if the two sides come in with their programmes of aid the cold war is simply transferred from the international to the national scene. There will develop a keen competition between them on the attention and claims of the needy nation. Instead of the country as a whole taking sides in the world struggle and accepting both the consequences and dangers of its decision, the country becomes internally a field of tension of the cold war itself. The price of avoiding the cold war externally is precisely to invite it into your own home internally. While the world of the developed is torn by very sharp conflict, it is very difficult for the realm of the underdeveloped to remain aloof so long as it depends for its very development upon the world of the developed.

It is true one may find oneself before forces among one's own people which for one reason or another desire to withdraw the nation into non-entanglement and isolation, and one may then find it politically necessary to go along with them. But if the leadership believes that this attitude is wrong, it will not just conform to it: it will seek to transform it. If it does not do so, it must be because it holds it as a conviction. One cannot indefinitely believe one thing and act as though it were not true.

Then, there are fundamental theoretical and spiritual issues at stake. Can one be neutral with respect to them? When it is a question of the fundamental interpretation of matter, mind, the human person, the human soul, the basic freedoms, human society, the nature of government, the laws of history, the nature of truth, human destiny and God, how can one

say, I am uninterested, I wish to stay outside this whole struggle, I don't care who wins, plague on both your houses? If one says that it is fair to ask him, what then is your view of these things? And if one refuses to answer this question or if he thinks he has no view on them, it is not difficult to prove to him that his life and action imply such and such a view. When it comes to ultimate matters, there is no neutrality; there is either truth or falsehood; and there are of course all grades of approximation to the truth. But man everywhere is always interested only in the truth.

Today, Nehru can look back upon a great life of struggle, fulfilment, responsibility and vision. He is one of the greatest statesmen of this century. Nobody knows more than he that the tasks ahead are just as formidable as any he has had to face, but he faces them now with a wealth of experience and wisdom perhaps unique in history, combining in his life as he does a profound rootedness in the East with an equally profound knowledge of the West, and the two with twelve years of undisputed leadership of one of the greatest peoples of history in one of the most pregnant periods of history. Having read his writings and having been inspired by his full life, I feel certain that the world will gather from his leadership in the years to come as much passion for decency, justice, freedom, peace and man as it did in the years behind. I pray God that He grant him a long life of vision and leadership still, with the light of His countenance shining upon him, to the end that His right hand, His arm and His truth strengthen and guide him in the momentous days ahead.

Bertrand Russell

In Search of Peace

ALL FRIENDS of peace and of humane ways of life should join in congratulating Nehru on his achievements. Few lives can show an equal record of success in the pursuit of important good causes to which, at many times, the opposition seemed insuperable.

I propose to write here mainly of Nehru's foreign policy, but there are a few things in his home policy for which I should wish to express my admiration. First and foremost, India has been launched upon a régime of parliamentary democracy — a difficult feat, as may be seen in many parts of the world where attempts have been made to substitute new democracy for old imperialism. The second great task in which the Nehru Government has been engaged is that of introducing industrialism without the harsh features that have usually been associated with its early stages. The cruelties of industrialism in Britain in the early nineteenth century are a familiar theme, and everyone knows that Marx's doctrines were inspired by horror of what was occurring in British factories when Marx was young. It is one of the remarkable ironies of history that, as soon as Marxists acquired power in Russia, they proceeded to inflict, on a much larger scale, evils very similar to those which shocked their prophet. Early industrialism has been associated with hardship everywhere except in the northern States of America which could draw upon a destitute immigrant population for whose poverty America was not responsible. In India, Nehru's Government is content to let the process of industrializing be

somewhat slower than in contemporary China in order that the process may be less painful and less harsh. Every humane person should sympathize with this endeavour and should realize that the outcome, even if it takes longer, is likely to be better in terms of human happiness than the outcome of a less humane process.

There is another matter in which the Nehru Government has shown itself more enlightened than most of the Governments of the West: I mean the question of population. Too many Western countries have allowed their policy in this matter to be governed by ancient superstitious dogmas. We of the West must hope that, in time, they will copy the East by rational action in this matter.

But, in our age, all other problems are dwarfed by the problem of war. Two powerful groups of nations confront each other, each possessed of weapons capable of exterminating the human race and each, apparently, incapable of realizing the consequent need of conciliation. Of the nations belonging to neither bloc, India is the largest and the most important. I have never wished to see India join the Western bloc (nor, of course, the Eastern). I expressed this opinion to Indian journalists when I passed through Calcutta in 1950, and I have at no time thought otherwise. The fact that India is uncommitted has already borne good fruit, more particularly in Korea. In the two matters of the demarcation line between North and South Korea and the repatriation of prisoners, the mediation of India made it possible for agreements to be reached. A great deal of courage was needed, since each side was angry whenever any concession was made to the other, so that the pursuit of even-handed justice led to unpopularity with East and West alike. For my part, I thought the decisions of the Indian authorities as regards Korea came as near to impartiality as is possible.

India has done much and may, one hopes, do even more to prevent the explosion of a world war. On the strictest rules of old-fashioned diplomacy, this is a matter in which India has a vital and legitimate interest. In a world war with nuclear weapons it will be not only the belligerents who will suffer. In

non-belligerent countries, a large proportion of the population, perhaps even the whole, will perish from the contamination of fall-out. Uncommitted nations, therefore, have every reason, even from a narrowly national point of view, for doing what they can to prevent a world war. One very useful thing which the Nehru Government has done with this object in view is the publication in two successive editions of a very careful report on *Nuclear Explosions and Their Effects*, to which Nehru supplied a foreword in 1956 and added to it in the new edition in 1958. Every person who is not blinded by insane fanaticism must applaud Nehru's last words in the second edition of this very valuable work: "I trust", he says, "that this book, which has involved much labour, will be of some help to bring a clearer realization to people of the perils and dangers that humanity has to face and from that full realization may come effective steps to avoid these dangers." I wish that an equally sane outlook could prevail among the statesmen of the Eastern and Western blocs.

The usefulness of this volume is due not only to the care with which it has been compiled but to the fact that it is free from the bias from which inhabitants of either bloc find it difficult to escape. Those who are in the employ of a government have to say what that government wishes. Those who, in the name of truth, say something different are accused of helping the "enemy". Consequently, authoritative impartiality is hardly to be expected except when the work is inspired by an uncommitted government.

For all the reasons already mentioned, the world as well as India owes a debt of gratitude to Nehru. I have hopes that he may crown his life-work by an even greater achievement than any that he already has to his credit. In all the negotiations which have hitherto taken place between the Eastern and Western blocs, each side has drawn up a set of proposals known to be totally unacceptable to the other side, and negotiations have started with a violent clash of two sets of extreme suggestions. If negotiated agreement is really desired, it is not by this method that it can be achieved. The method which should be

adopted would be to cause a possible negotiated agreement to be drawn up by Powers representing neither the Eastern nor the Western bloc, and aiming as far as possible at measures which would diminish friction without giving any net advantage to either side. If a set of such proposals constituted the agenda of East-West negotiations, the proceedings would not begin with a violent clash, and there would be far better hope of some positive outcome. I should like to see some such plan suggested by India to the United Nations, or if that were not feasible, drawn up by some group of uncommitted Powers in response to Indian initiative. Friends of peace throughout the world would be glad to have an impartial pronouncement as to possible solutions of the conflicts between the two blocs. Supported by such a scheme, neither side need shrink from concessions balanced by concessions from the other side which impartial opinion considered equal.

Mankind is in danger owing to the fact that the Great Powers on either side, in practice, though not in theory, consider loss of prestige a greater evil than the destruction of the human race. In this situation, those Powers whose prestige is not involved have an immense opportunity. Of these Powers, India is the chief. Nehru is known to stand for sanity and peace in this critical moment of human history. Perhaps, it will be he who will lead us out of the dark night of fear into a happier day.

Ilya Ehrenburg

Triumph over Distrust

On the 23rd March 1958, the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru received members of the Bureau of the World Peace Council. He spoke to them about the Panchshila, about the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, about the need to overcome distrust, enmity and fear: "One state can influence another more by a peaceful, friendly approach than by force, for when force is exercised the offended party offers moral resistance, and fear and a sense of injury are created." As I listened to Nehru's words, I involuntarily recalled the words spoken more than two thousand years ago not far from Delhi by one of his forerunners, the Emperor Asoka: "His Sacred Majesty began to repent of having conquered Kalinga, for the conquest of a land that had been free brings with it murder, destruction and the leading of people into captivity. This filled His Sacred Majesty with deep sadness and repentance. . . . True conquest is the conquest of hearts with the help of the law of duty and piety." Naturally, the Cambridge graduate, the doughty fighter for freedom, the brilliant essayist who quotes Spinoza and Descartes, Marx and Lenin, Nietzsche and Spengler, the leaser of a modern state, in no way resembles "His Sacred Highness". But to understand a text one must understand the subtext, and the complicated character of one of the major political figures of our epoch is inseparable from those traditions which in India pile up at every step and which are to be found not only in its ancient temples but in the Statistical

Institute of Professor Mahalanobis, in the canvases, so full of a contemporary spirit, of Amrita Sher Gil, and in the eyes of any poor fellow lying in the streets of Calcutta and thinking of something long, great and permanent.

Western enthusiasts call India "the land of miracles", Western sceptics speak of it as "a land of contrasts". Perhaps it would be simpler to recognize it as a very complicated country. And to me the figure of Jawaharlal Nehru is complicated too. If you like, there are many contrasts and no few miracles in it. He is a man of great and universal culture. His interests have lain in Marxism and in the origins of religions, in Freudianism and in ethics, in the sculpture of Ellora and Elephanta, in the poetry of the English Romantics. He has discussed human discontent with Romain Rolland, revolutionary romanticism with Ernest Toller, and the destinies of Buddhism with Andre Malraux. He often speaks of his affection for the mountain wastes and is fond of solitude. I have seen the way he speaks to simple Indians; he knows how to find the words that are needed to approach them. He himself expresses surprise in one of his books at this capacity for being simple, clear and natural. This ability to transform himself is not the skill of the actor; it derives from the complicated character of his nature; he is at the same time one in a thousand.

On 23rd January 1956, I spent the evening with Nehru. We talked on the most varied subjects — about the flora of India and about Moscow, about the art of the Gupta Period and about the struggle for world peace. From time to time I forgot that before me sat the head of the government of a great power. Perhaps, it was the reflection in him of the 19th century that struck me. Yes, of course — for nowadays I rarely have the opportunity to talk to someone whose youth coincided with my own youth. But no, it was not there that Nehru's charm lay, but in that simplicity which accompanies only very complicated natures.

He is a man who loves to meditate. He is a splendid writer. And from the days of his youth he has been a man of action, a fighter. He loves flowers but he found time to be a gardener

only when he was in prison. He always wanted to write books, but he actually wrote them only when he was behind iron bars. By temperament he is a man of culture, a cosmopolitan, who does not believe in national barriers but he has had to devote his whole life to the struggle for India's national freedom. He loves English literature but for half a century he had to face English policemen, English courts, English prison-warders. He exchanged literary salons and society life for incessant struggle and for prison, and now his life is one of diplomatic receptions and academic celebrations, a life which is no longer entitled to privacy and the quiet of a home.

Nehru was in Moscow when Bolsheviks were still pictured as "men with knives between their teeth". Mussolini tried to enlist his sympathy; but he spurned his hand and, instead, went to heroic Barcelona. Hitler invited him to visit him; instead, he went to Prague. When he came to power floral garlands of atomic alliances and rich gifts in the form of assorted military bases were kept ready for him; instead, he chose peace and the Panchshila.

I remember the way the ordinary people of Moscow met Nehru. They showered on him the modest flowers of the short northern summer. Of course, they had only vague ideas about his complicated life but they sensed that their guest was not like those diplomats for whom speeches about peaceful intentions are as obligatory at evening receptions as dinner-jackets. The men and women of Moscow recognised in Nehru a champion of peace.

I happened to read in some foreign magazine the view that Nehru was a sceptic, even a pessimist. It seems to me that the occasional bitterness of his words and the sadness of his smile are dictated rather by exigencies of situations. Recalling his meeting with Romain Rolland, Nehru spoke of his constant spiritual thirst. The hero of that remarkable story of Chekhov's — *Tedious Story* — an old professor, a scientist of world fame, is bored because he cannot see a certain "general idea". Referring to that story, Thomas Mann noted that the longing for a "general idea" is broader and profounder than doubt about the

correctness of one's outlook on the world; and I take the liberty, forgetting for a moment that state activity absorbs Nehru, of linking that touch of bitterness in his nature with that eternal human thirst. You see, it is somehow difficult for me to combine his cast of mind with the idea of a septuagenarian. Of course, any Indian may seem to us Europeans as wise as a centenarian — that is the age of the nation. But in Nehru what strikes me is his youthfulness, and that is the age of the man.

When he addressed the members of the World Peace Council, Nehru reminded them that the defenders of peace ought to be not only far-sighted politicians but subtle psychologists too: they had to conquer the distrust in people. Those were the splendid words of a real champion of peace: after all, for ten years in succession, day after day, we have been knocking at the door of every house, sounding the heart of every man, and saying that it is possible to put an end to the threat of atomic war, to the cruel cold war that cripples everyone and all countries — that all that is needed is the goodwill of simple people, the awakening of their conscience and the resolve of their leaders. I would like to say that despite all the complications that have arisen in the international situation or even in the domestic political life of India, Jawaharlal Nehru remains for me first and foremost a champion of peace.

Hiren Mukerjee

The Debit Side

No one in India will grudge Jawaharlal Nehru the honour of having directed the country's external affairs since independence in a manner that has earned the world's respect. For a country that was unfree till a dozen years ago and is weighted down still by myriad problems, this is indeed a proud feat.

It was in the fitness of things that Nehru, as India's first Prime Minister, took over also the portfolio of External Affairs. To him, more than to any one man, did the Congress in pre-independence days owe its international orientation. He knew better than any other Congress leader that India was no anchorite peninsula, outside the stream of world events and immune from the winds that blow abroad. And more than some whole-hogging nationalists, whose single-track anti-imperialism would sometimes drive them to undesirable international conclusions, he knew which way the path of freedom and progress lay.

At least since the Madras Congress of 1927, which protested against the use by Britain of Indian forces against the revolution in China, it was Nehru who gave the lead in such matters. When in 1932 he wrote *Whither India?* or in 1936 gave his celebrated address as President of the Lucknow Congress, his grip on world affairs seemed nearly unique. Meanwhile, he had travelled widely, had witnessed something of the civil war in Spain, and while chary of too sharp a swerve to the Left — his association with the League against Imperialism was short-lived

— realised the role of imperialism and its links with the excrescence called fascism. Of the issues raised by the Second World War, he had a clearer grasp than most of his colleagues, and when British intransigence provoked the country's fury and goaded Congress into the "Quit India" struggle, it was Nehru who, Gandhiji tells us, spoke of the fascist menace "with a passion which I cannot describe". When freedom came, Nehru was rightly India's automatic choice as her first Foreign Minister.

In the last twelve years, India's contribution to the cause of peace and progress in the world has been substantial and important. This is an incontestable proposition and should at the outset be stated. Without her efforts, jointly with those of People's China and the U.S.S.R., the cease-fire in Korea could not have been achieved, nor could the flames of war have been extinguished in Indo-China. India's tireless insistence that the Chinese People's Republic be accorded its rightful position in the United Nations and her advocacy of China's indisputable title to Taiwan are of prime importance in the world today. The principled stand taken by India on the question of prohibiting atomic and hydrogen weapons and reducing armaments, with a view to utilising for peaceful construction the immense resources now absorbed by the arms drive, has world-wide approbation. As a sponsor and leader of the first conference of Asian and African countries at Bandung, India has represented the urge of the people of our two continents for peace and national freedom. India has consistently protested against aggressive military blocs and has called for collective peace and the settlement of international problems by negotiation. The Panchshila, a concept redolent of India's history, which India and China were the first to invoke and promulgate jointly for the world to follow, calls for peaceful co-existence of nations, inculcates respect for one another's rights, and heralds the march ahead to a better world.

Conducting foreign policy is by no means a flight into the rarefied air of moral elevation, and Nehru has been well aware of it. He said, for example, in his speech to the

Constituent Assembly on December 4, 1947: "Whatever policy you may lay down, the art of conducting the foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to the country. We may talk about international goodwill and mean what we say, but in the ultimate analysis a government functions for the good of the country it governs, and no government dares to do anything which in the short or long run is manifestly to the disadvantage of that country." In the course of the same speech, he also said: "Ultimately, foreign policy is the outcome of economic policy and until India has properly evolved her economic policy, her foreign policy will be rather vague, rather inchoate and will be groping."

India's foreign policy, quite apart from the opinion it wins abroad, has thus to satisfy two crucial tests: it must bring advantage to the country, and it must be broad-based on a firm economic policy. On both these counts, there is a sizable debit side to Nehru's ledger.

Our relations with Pakistan, which are far from happy, represent a major weakness. For this, the responsibility is perhaps not so much India's as of Britain, for the latter, particularly since Pakistan's raiders crossed into Kashmir with fire and sword, has done all she could, in her usual sanctimonious manner, to bedevil Indo-Pakistani relationship, whether in the United Nations or elsewhere. More than a million Indian workers in the plantations of Ceylon are in constant jeopardy, on account of the paradox of their being "stateless", and while India and Ceylon are by no means unfriendly the problem defies solution. After a long wait and some mass struggle on the spot, *de facto* transfer of French possessions in India has taken place, but for several years now, *de jure* transfer awaits the good pleasure of France and integration of the relevant areas into the Indian Union is deferred. Infinitely more egregious is the forcible retention by Portugal of her enclaves in India. Even when the inhabitants of an area like Nagar Haveli have successfully pushed out the foreign intruders and set up their own modest apparatus of administration, we have failed to integrate it with India for fear of international complications.

We have thought fit even to appear in the World Court and to seek to answer Portugal's insolent charge that we prevent her marching across Indian territory to reconquer Nagar Haveli. It is clear that we suffer these humiliations, not so much because of Portugal's power which is very little but because of her patrons like the U.K. and the U.S.A. Apart from NATO, there are Anglo-Portuguese treaties which Dr. Salazar has often said can be invoked if India thinks of clearing her soil of the Portuguese taint. This matter was brought up in 1958 in the House of Commons and the U.K. Government maintained a discreet but expressive silence.

We suffer these and other disadvantages because of the weakness of our economic and also necessarily of our strategic base. To the extent we continue to depend on countries like the U.K. and the U.S.A. which, on account of the categorical imperatives of the capitalist system, cannot and do not really wish us well and aim at perpetuating our economic dependence, that weakness continues. The U.K.'s Suez adventure cost our Plans, only in increased freight, let alone other factors like the resultant delay in the implementation of projects, no less than 150 million rupees. Until assistance from socialist countries began to concretise, the Western Powers hardly lent a hand in setting up basic heavy industries in India — even now they do it sparingly and with reservations. It is not, of course, suggested that India, on achieving independence, could just wash away her recent past and write boldly on a clean socialist slate. But it will be folly to forget how the nature of our external relations, even as conducted by Nehru, has inhibited the pace and quality of our advance. On July 7, 1950, Nehru said that "our economic policy is obviously tied to England and other Western Powers," but that "political policy is another matter." This is a duality, however, which cannot be easily resolved, though in the last six years or so India has made a notable effort in that direction.

It needed no little courage for Nehru to aver, as he did in December, 1947: "We intend co-operating with the United States of America and we intend co-operating fully with the

Soviet Union." The decision to avoid alignments in the world conflict between the two camps indicated an adult refusal to see world politics in terms of pure black and white. For quite some time, however, India did take sides — with the West, even to the extent of being unwilling, soon after independence, to utilise the Soviet offer of technical aid without strings made at the ECAFE conference and elsewhere. On April 28, 1950, G. S. Bajpai, then Secretary-General of India's External Affairs Ministry, told the *New York Times*: "We do not like to talk about which side we would come in on, but I think the answer is evident to you." Indian civil servants unlike their British prototypes, apparently are permitted to make policy statements; one will recall in this connection H. V. R. Iengar's 1957 speeches in America on the role of the private sector in India's economy. People more highly placed, like Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, asserted in New York on September 19, 1951, that India's foreign policy was "pro-Free Nations", and pointed out in proof: "In the recent sessions of the General Assembly, we voted as you did 38 times out of 51, abstaining 11 times and differing from you only twice." It may seem gratuitous to be recalling these things, but they have a certain relevance, for even in 1959 Ambassador Chagla pleads often in Washington for more U.S. aid to India lest we should go communist!

Perhaps, it is not impermissible to speculate what the world would have been like today if the Chinese Revolution had not triumphed in 1949 and subsequent years. In June, 1950, Nehru was making speeches in Singapore where he branded the Malayan liberation movement as sheer terrorism and called communism the enemy of nationalism in Asia. For quite some time his attitude towards Ho Chi Minh's régime was equivocal; over Korea, he wobbled in the beginning and even when he saw better, was sometimes shaky; from Indonesia to Egypt, he was calling for moderation in all those countries. Perhaps he was not very happy when communists took over in China, with the people obviously enthused at the change. It may even be that, with

Japan out of the race, India and China were, consciously or otherwise, rivals for the leadership of Asia, and in 1949–50, Nehru did not feel very bucked up at the turn of events. The friction with China in 1950 was due mainly to India's faulty pursuit of the traditional British policy of detaching Tibet from Chinese control as a buffer state between India and China. This phase happily passed before long — which lends strength to the hope that shadows on India-China relationship, present as these lines are being written, will not take long to be dispelled. If the Chinese revolution had not happened, however, India might perforce have been dragged into the camp of anti-socialism. That revolution has changed the very climate of world politics, and it is a good thing that Nehru recognised its importance and made friends with it. Fortified by the Panchshila declarations and the Bandung spirit, India-China friendship, in spite of occasional jolts, is one of the firmest factors for peace and progress.

Indo-Soviet relations illustrate how there has not been a set policy pursued by India. Before the transfer of power, the Soviets had developed amity with India at the U.N. General Assembly in 1946–47, but from the autumn of 1947 there started a period, so to speak, of estrangement. With Radhakrishnan at the Moscow Embassy in July 1949, however, things began to improve, and Nehru's correspondence with Stalin over Korea in 1950 helped the good work. It was not till late 1953, however, that a three-year trade pact was signed — quite a drastic change from what had been said in Parliament by leading Ministers of the Nehru Government like C. D. Deshmukh and T. T. Krishnamachari about trade with socialist countries being a hazardous adventure. Much water has flowed since then, and there have been such events as the visit of Nehru to the U.S.S.R. and of Soviet leaders to India, the adherence of India and the U.S.S.R. to a joint Panchshila declaration; the moving forward, so to say, from co-existence to co-operation; Soviet aid to India in the shape of steel works and machine-building; and the mutual recognition of the necessity of friendship and co-operation between

communist and non-communist countries. Occasional strain notwithstanding, Indo-Soviet friendship is stable and sure—an achievement due partly, no doubt, to India's importance as a country whose goodwill is very much worth having, and to the wise and perceptive approach to world problems of India's Prime Minister.

A genuine predilection for peace, apart from its practical necessity, has been the principal motive behind India's policy of non-involvement in Power blocs. But when all is said and done about the value of India's work as an "honest broker of peace" between conflicting camps, the fact remains that India's strongest orientation is towards the British Commonwealth and what is called the West. Years ago, at Lucknow in 1936, Nehru had said: "If we remain within the imperialist fold, whatever be our name and status, whatever outer semblance of political power we might have, we remain cribbed and confined, and allied to and dominated by the reactionary forces and the great financial vested interests of the capitalist world." In 1953, however, he affirmed that India had "gained positively by being in the Commonwealth"—a proposition to which many would demur, for the Commonwealth hinders, rather than helps, us over our relations with Pakistan (*pace* Kashmir) and South Africa, and over issues like Goa or even such petty but irritating things as the refusal to return to us the India Office Library. With the U.S.A. also, our biggest creditor, relations have been built up which might, during a crisis, tie us to their chariot. "To have Nehru as an ally in the struggle for Asian support is worth many divisions," so said the *New York Times* in August 1950. And in spite of India's courageous assertion of viewpoints regarding nuclear warfare and the status of China, for instance, which have angered the United States, the value to it of India's goodwill has grown rather than dwindled. Besides, there are in India, and even in Nehru's entourage, a good few powerful people who would, if they could, shed the links that have grown between India and the socialist world. It is important, thus, for the U.S. to make sure that, in spite of provocation, India can in good time be coaxed

away from the present independent strands of her foreign policy. Unceasingly, therefore, pressure from the U.S. and U.K. is brought to bear on India in various ways in order that we may virtually forswear the Panchshila and align ourselves definitely with "the free world". Nehru is not likely, unless a calamity happens, to yield to such pressure, but certain people, no doubt, are cultivating long-term expectations.

That so much depends on one man in India is at once a tribute to Nehru's quality and an acknowledgement of the lacunae in his work. Enough has been said, however, to indicate that Nehru has shaped India's foreign policy with insight and with acumen, but that it has loopholes which a clearer understanding could have plugged and which, in the absence of his moderating hand, might conceivably produce calamitous consequences in the future.

A. D. Gorwala

Perils of Panchshila

A CHARACTERISTIC example of Nehru's foreign policy in operation is the latest effort made by India, through her representative, V. K. Krishna Menon, to get Communist China admitted to the United Nations.

The circumstances are worth noting. In the previous quarter, Communist China slapped Nehru's face hard at least thrice in the search for scapegoats to whom she could ascribe the rising of the Tibetan people against her continued efforts to destroy Tibet's local autonomy. She had promised both the Tibetans and Nehru that she would preserve that autonomy. Still, she poured into Tibet, an area of vital importance to India, hundreds of thousands of Chinese immigrants and deported from Tibet thousands of Tibetans. Indian public opinion has been greatly exacerbated by the aggressive communist action in Tibet and on our northern borders, and the cruelties practised by the communists. The Dalai Lama is a refugee in India. In spite of Nehru's protests, Communist China continues to show on her maps some Indian territory as Chinese territory and has, of late, committed naked aggression to annex it. The United States Government is opposed to the admission of Communist China to the United Nations. India has received financial aid in the form of grants and loans from the United States during the past five years, the amount in the current year itself being quite substantial. For the successful working of the Plan in the last year of the second five-year period and during the third five-year period, large foreign aid, especially from

the United States, is essential. Krishna Menon has by his behaviour and manners made himself greatly disliked both at the United Nations and in the United States. An important body of opinion holds, and not wrongly, that at the least he is extremely close to the communists and a strong supporter of international communism.

Fully aware of all these facts, aware too of the grave apprehension about Communist China's intentions in his own country, felt today by a far larger number of people than at any time in the past, Nehru still proposes to sponsor Communist China's case in the United Nations. He knows that admission to the United Nations would strengthen Communist China very greatly. No Indian interest is served by his persistence; quite the contrary in fact. But he does not desist.

The motives behind a policy of this nature are difficult to disentangle. Yet one thing is clear. A considerable tenderness towards international communism is discernible. There is no lack of other instances illustrating this trend, from the sudden giving up of all protest at the conquest of Tibet by the Chinese in 1950 and the acceptance of that country as a province of China to the insistence on regarding Soviet satellites like Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Rumania as completely independent countries and the reluctance in condemning the Soviet Union for its savage action in Hungary and Communist China for her open aggression in Tibet.

Nehru declares that his foreign policy is based on non-alignment with power blocs and that his decisions are taken always on the merits of each case. In reality, the inclination to side with the communists makes itself apparent more often than not, the merits of the communist case striking his mind with exceptional clearness. So, too, in connection with international communism, he has not hesitated to depart from the thesis that the purpose of foreign policy is to serve the national interest, set out by him in the following words: "We may talk about national goodwill and mean what we say. We may talk about peace and freedom and earnestly mean what we say. But in the ultimate analysis a government functions for the good of

the country it governs. And no government dares to do anything which in the short or long run is to the disadvantage of that country." He has, on more than one occasion, dared to do exactly that.

Nehru's foreign policy has been marked by one great achievement and many striking failures. His championship of international communism has indeed been a signal success. The communist, a figure of dread formerly to South-East and West Asia and Africa has, because of his benevolent attitude towards him, attained respectability in these areas. The moral prestige of the heir of Gandhi has been used to cast a cloak of forgetfulness not only over the dark deeds of the communists but over their doctrine of world domination. From Stalin, called by him "The Man of Peace", to Chou En-lai, pointed out approvingly to a large crowd as "A Great Gentleman", from the conference at Bandung to the meetings with the Prime Ministers of the Soviet satellite countries at Delhi, the effort has remained constant. Within the country itself, this excessive cordiality towards international communism and its chiefs has had the very detrimental effect of greatly increasing the attractive power of the Indian communists, thus enhancing their influence and numbers.

The failures have all been in the sphere of national interest. Nehru's foreign policy has, in instance after instance, failed to secure that which was essential to the good of India. Goa still remains a Portuguese possession. The Ceylonese Government continues to treat disgracefully residents of Indian descent who ought to be in all equity regarded as Ceylonese citizens. India, instead of being liked and respected in Nepal, is regarded with grave disfavour by the Nepalese, and Communist China's influence increases there while India's declines. Relations with Pakistan, our neighbour both on the east and the west, are most unfriendly. The continuing impasse over Kashmir not only involves considerable extra expenditure but damages India's reputation in most parts of the world, causing her to be regarded as hypocritical and just as willing to resort to subterfuge to get her own ends as any of the countries some of whose acts

from time to time have formed the subject of Nehru's strong condemnation. Tibet has had even her local autonomy totally destroyed and the communists have stopped all trade and intercourse between her and India. Newly-independent Asian and African nations, which in the past used to pay special regard to India's attitudes and views, seem by now to have been driven to the conclusion that they would do better not to bother about India, since her representative at the United Nations is generally the sharp-tongued, unconciliatory Krishna Menon, who moreover is clearly over-friendly with the Communist nations, about whom they have now discovered so much that was hidden before that they can no longer share Nehru's enthusiasm for them.

Neither in England nor in the United States is there that strong feeling for India that should exist between countries whose fate through trade, and common ideas of law, government and liberty is in a sense closely tied together. India receives financial aid because of the notion that were she not to be assisted in economic development, the communist cause would greatly gain, but trust is certainly lacking in view of the uncertainty about Nehru's reaction to international communism. He is rightly opposed to discrimination on the ground of colour and race in any part of the world. Had his relationship with the Governments of Great Britain and the United States been on a footing of real friendliness, there can be little doubt that as the head of the government of the largest coloured nation in the free world, he could have exercised considerable influence towards ameliorating the lot of the coloured in the parts of the world these countries control and influence. As it is, he is compelled to content himself with being correct. In view of his foreign policy as practised, and not as declared, nothing more from him would be tolerated. If you are not sure of a man and of the principal people he chooses to employ, abundant caution and the refusal to let him cross formal limits is the only safe course. India thus is deprived of the opportunity to do a great deal of good in a cause very near to her heart. Nor is it India alone that loses. The nascent

nations of Africa striving for independence and the negro of the southern states of America striving for race equality—these too do not receive the assistance they have a right to expect from India's influence exerted on their behalf.

Nehru has many virtues and conspicuous ability, but after watching him at work for more than a decade, most knowledgeable people are convinced that he is a bad judge of men and lacks administrative talent. Nowhere are these defects more apparent than in the conduct of the foreign policy of India. About the type of men necessary for the proper discharge of the duties that arise in this field, Lord Strang, a former Under-Secretary of the British Foreign Office, says, "Diplomacy is a profession in which trained intelligence and native wit must obviously count for much. But unless the diplomat has also an unassailable integrity of mind — which constitutes both honesty and moral courage, since it usually requires moral courage to be honest — it will avail him little to possess the purely intellectual gifts in large measure." And he adds: "The personal reputation of a diplomat is closely bound up with his official duties and constitutes his principal asset as a negotiator." Of how many of Nehru's selections can it be said that they possess "an unassailable integrity of mind" and a reputation which would be an asset in negotiation? The distance between these qualifications and Krishna Menon, Nehru's principal diplomat, has already been noted. Far from being an asset his reputation is a very distinct liability in any negotiation, and, indeed, a grave disadvantage to India generally. Some of the others are able and facile penmen but very rarely, it is said, do they infer or report what they feel their chief would not like to hear. By and large, the level is low. Only an exceptional few from the old service live up to the tradition of honest statement and frank advice, undeterred by fear of consequence.

Nehru's lack of administrative ability is apparent to any experienced person who visits the External Affairs Ministry in New Delhi or some of our principal embassies and consulates. So many people doing so little; so few troubling even to learn the language of the country to which they have been posted;

such little understanding of the real forces at work; such lack of right contacts; so much waste of money on unnecessary show and high living. A good administrator would long ago have got rid of these disadvantages to the making of an efficient system. Under Nehru not only does the old nag stumble on, but the stumbling grows worse as the years pass by.

One point must be recorded in favour of Nehru as Foreign Minister. Formerly on any and every subject, whether it concerned India or not, he shined his eyes, mounted the platform and let fly. During the last year and a half, he has been more discreet. He now gives out opinions rarely. He also expresses himself generally with moderation. This is a welcome development. It shows that he is capable of learning and gives room for hope in other respects also.

Basil Davidson

African Attitude

THE INFLUENCE of Nehru on the colonial system in Africa can be likened to the lever and the weight. Enormous is the weight, and small is the lever: but the lever shifts the weight; if the picture of Africa differs radically from that of a dozen years ago, it is in no inconsiderable degree because of Nehru.

This would be a wild exaggeration if it were to be understood as meaning that Nehru had exercised direct or political influence in Africa. His only important entry into that particular field, as it happens, has ended in frustration; repeated attempts to secure better treatment for the Indians of the Union of South Africa have remained largely vain. They have produced little more than Strydom's memorable utterance of defiance and despair: "The idea of a partnership between Europeans and non-Europeans is a mirage. . . ."

Even in East Africa Nehru's policies cannot really be said to have had much consequence, if only because they have consisted largely of advice to Indian minorities, that has appeared, often enough, ambiguous advice. Are the Indians of East Africa citizens of those lands — Indians by origin but no longer by national loyalty — or are they no more than "temporary guests"? There has seemed to be a doubt on this subject in the mind of the Government of India.

The explanation of Nehru's importance for Africa lies somewhere else. It will be found, I suggest, in comparing what men of influence and reflection believed and thought about African peoples a dozen or twenty years ago, and what they

believe and think about them today. I am not referring only, or even mainly, to the decline of British imperialism and its carefully scheduled lists of superiority and inferiority, its colour mythology and so forth. Obviously it is true that the independence of India has played a great part in undermining those dreary certitudes, although the British people themselves may reasonably claim to have done some good part of that job on their own account. But in this business of reconsidering Africa and Africans it is not only the British (or other colony-owning peoples) who are in question, but others as well; the whole world has had — or is having — to think again about Africa.

A dozen or twenty years ago it was the common thought of otherwise enlightened men and women in many lands, eastern lands as well as western lands, that Africans were in some respect or other an inherently "deprived people", deprived not only of political freedom and economic growth (for they were not alone in those respects) but deprived in a more profound and damaging sense. Were they not, somehow or other, naturally inferior? Could it not be said with justice (however trenched around with tact) that Africans were the Benjamin of the family of man, a Benjamin who had failed to grow up because he lacked a certain necessary spark? "No ingenious manufactures among them, no arts, no sciences," commented David Hume in the 18th Century. "No approach to the civilisation of his white fellow-creatures whom he imitates as a monkey does a man," added Trollope a hundred years or so later. And anyone who cares to look into the archives of these latter decades will find, time and time again, the same pejorative thought on the lips of prominent men.

This thought justified the colonial system, often enough, in the eyes of many who would otherwise have condemned it. And when the colonial system became manifestly unworkable and out-of-date — as it did for all enlightened men in the wake of the Second World War — this same belief in African inferiority justified the "trusteeship" by which the colonial idea was increasingly displaced. Nobody in his senses believed that the idea of "trusteeship" should or could be applied to India, and

for reasons which need no stating here; but many otherwise liberal and thoughtful men and women took it for granted that "trusteeship" still had a wise and wide application to African colonies. They thought like this because they thought of Africans as being incapable of facing the challenge and the problems of running their own affairs.

It is important to be clear about this. In many colonies it was undoubtedly true — and it remains true today — that education, experience of the world, administrative sophistication, and technical skill were sorely lacking. It was—and here and there it still is — obvious that these colonies required — and require — a period of preparation, of helpful preparation, before they can cease to be colonies. One may argue about the length of time that period ought to have been, or to be; one can agree that pre-industrial societies, such as African societies have largely been, require a time of intensive education; and this time of transition may be called trusteeship. But that, I suggest, is not what influential men in Europe (or elsewhere) have generally understood by the term. They have rather understood it as meaning a more or less prolonged — even limitless — period while Africans are supposed to be making good this inherent deficiency they are thought to have, a period while Africans are "growing up", a period while they are somehow ceasing to be "naturally inferior". And this, of course, is a very different thing; for trusteeship in this sense is no more than an agreeable figleaf for continued colonial rule.

Over the last few years, no doubt, archaeologists and anthropologists and historians have cleared away a great deal of the lumber of myth and legend with which Europeans (and not only Europeans) have cluttered up their view of Africa. These Africans, it now turns out, are not without a past that is knowable and worth knowing. On the contrary, they are now seen to have a long and interesting history of change and social growth, of interweaving culture and developing civilisation. They are, it transpires, no less capable of thought, moral belief, organised action and responsible behaviour than anyone else in the world, although the results they have achieved may be

as different from the results that others have achieved as Africa is different from Asia, Europe, or America. Sapient debate about the relative smallness of the "negro brain-case" now turns out, on better information, to be academic foolishness. Black men are not in any natural way inferior to white men — or any other sort of men.

But this revolution in thought has remained, as it must in the nature of things, a revolution of the few. Large numbers of people are little affected by the ponderings of archaeologists, anthropologists and historians. Why is it, then, that large numbers of people are now prepared to accept Africa and Africans as resting on the same level of humanity as themselves? Why is it that so many people in Britain — or elsewhere — now begin to take it as a right and normal thing that Africans should wish to rule themselves? Why is it that so many Africans have acquired a new self-confidence, a new and reasonable impatience with the prevarications of "trusteeship", a new assertion of their birthright as equal members of the human family?

One may reply in various ways. The Second World War was a war, among other things, against the Nazi myth of Nordic racialism: and the fighting and the winning of this war have caused men to examine and reject other myths of the same kind. The peoples of Africa have reached a point where many of them have understood the position they are in, and, having understood that, have determined to change it. Some of these peoples — notably those of English- and French-speaking West Africa — have won their independence or are far on the way towards winning it.

But there is another large reason for this great revision in attitude towards Africa and Africans, a reason especially potent in Europe: and that, in a word, is India. But India, in this respect, is inseparable from Nehru; and it is at this point, I believe, that one may measure the force of Nehru's impact on peoples for whom the colonial system has been — whether as rulers or ruled — a recent and a formative heritage.

This impact, it can be seen, has had a double thrust; and both have had a liberating consequence. The more obvious of

these is that Nehru has always taken it as self-evident, that what was good for India must be equally good for other countries not yet independent. I do not know whether his attitude in this respect could be described as having had a moral effect, for moral effects are notably unpersuasive in the affairs of men and nations. But what is beyond all reasonable question is that it has had an educational effect. The spectacle of an independent India has been for most people in Britain an unforgettable and very fruitful lesson in the nature of humanity.

Not only — and not mainly — because Britain could find with an independent India a new friendship and mutual interest such as could never exist with a subject India. Much more, I think, because of the kind of India which has emerged. Here, no doubt, one may risk plunging into a discussion of Indian traditions; but we will let that go by. The essential point is that independent India — so characteristically, for the outside world, the India of Nehru — has revived and given international life to fresh and meaningful ideas. One can measure the value of this by supposing the alternative. Suppose that India had followed the example of a near-neighbour and sunk into hierarchical or dictatorial rule, embraced the extremist interpretation of nationalism, reduced herself to the menial rank of yet another member of the school of "death and glory" patriotism. It is doubtful if anyone in the outside world would then have cared two farthings for India's opinion, for India's influence; everything that India might then have done, or that India's leaders might then have said, would have meant no more (and might have meant less) than the ravings and rantings of any other morbid nationalism.

This, if I may say so, was the great force of the first thrust of Nehru's impact: that India had elevated her national policy and action above the common coin of mere nation-state rivalry. India could then speak — and Nehru has repeatedly spoken — from a posture which commands peculiar respect because it has a measure of universal application. And when it became clear that this India would take it as self-evident that Africans should run their own affairs, the implications went

far and wide. It seems to me that this is the first sense in which the small lever has shifted the great weight: the quality of Nehru's thought about humanity has had a liberating effect, so far as Africa is concerned, both on rulers and ruled.

Yet it may be that the second thrust will prove, in the long run, the more important. This was the lead that India gave in international affairs. That Africans should be relieved of the colonial system — very well, but after that? Would they take their line of growth from Europe? That seemed doubtful — even if this Europe of today had in the meantime somehow managed to get itself beyond internecine wars and rivalries, beyond its own frenetic nationalism of the past. Or would these newly independent Africans fall into the dismal throes of "communism or anti-communism" — and risk, in so doing, a new subjection? Would they try to apply a dogmatic and exclusivist system of ideas — or its dogmatic and exclusivist opposite — to circumstances which could properly absorb neither? The Old World — and the New World — seemed to have precious little to offer that was more than the shop-soiled effigy of old quarrels and disputes.

The notion that the new States of Africa could stand outside the East-West conflict — or could stand, at any rate, on the fringe of it, by no means fully and automatically committed — was India's gift, Nehru's gift. It has proved, and is proving, of tremendous value to them. This possibility, which some of them have embraced and which more may soon embrace, has given these new States and their leading men breathing-space in which to sort out where they stand and consider the world through independent eyes. I do not mean, of course, that the social and economic problems of Africa are entirely peculiar to that continent, nor that the solutions which the rest of the world has found, or is finding, do not apply in Africa. Obviously, many of these solutions do apply. But they do not apply directly; and some of them apply much better than others. What Nehru's lead has done is to make possible an intelligent selection. I do not mean either, that Nehru's influence should be said to have created a "third bloc", a neutral bloc; for the

truth, as we all know, is more complicated than that. What I mean is that Nehru's lead has helped to give these emergent peoples a place of their own to stand in — at the very time when they have needed and need it most. Nehru's influence has gone into the scales against extremist nationalism, against fanaticism, against dogmatism, against ready-made solutions, against cliché views of where and how one's loyalty should lie. It is above all in this and what it means — whether for Africans or for the rest of us — that history, one may think, will see the unique and liberating grandeur of his thought.

Sir Francis Low

The Commonwealth Link

NO STATESMAN during the past decade has done more than Jawaharlal Nehru to develop and expand the Commonwealth of Nations. India's decision in 1948 to remain within the Commonwealth as a Republic, and the acceptance by the other Commonwealth nations of this form of membership, opened a new era in the history of a unique association of countries. It gave popular support to a link which automatically followed India's independence, but which had no real significance until the Indian people formulated their own Constitution and laid down the nature of their future relations with Great Britain. The emergence of India and Pakistan as independent States in 1947 changed the whole character of the Commonwealth; from being mainly British and European, it became preponderantly Asian. Had India decided to leave the Commonwealth in 1948 of her own free will, as she was entitled to do, that preponderantly Asian character would have disappeared and the loss to Asia and Africa, not to mention Europe and the Western world, would have been immense.

The architect of this remarkable transformation of the Commonwealth was Nehru. What, it may be asked, led him to take the steps which he did to bring it about. No one who lived in India, as I did, in the troubled period between the two World Wars can forget the Indian National Congress decision of 1929. At midnight on the last day of that year on the banks of the Ravi, the Congress declared that the goal of Swaraj meant

complete independence from any association with Great Britain. That declaration sprang from the refusal of the British Government of the day to grant India Dominion Status within a stated period. No one was more vehement in expounding the new policy of the Congress than Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Lahore Congress.

Yet, almost twenty years later, Nehru asked India's Constituent Assembly to ratify a decision, taken on his own initiative, that India should remain a member of the Commonwealth. The reason was, of course, that the Second World War and the events which followed it, particularly in India, had created a situation which completely outdated pre-war policies, and Nehru was a statesman of sufficient calibre to grasp that fact. In spite of his whole-hearted demand for Indian independence, he had never given up the idea of a close association with Britain "on terms other than those of imperialism." Post-war conditions provided him with a firm platform for a policy of this type.

There can be no doubt that India's complete freedom to settle her own destiny after independence profoundly influenced the attitude of the Congress leaders towards the Commonwealth connection. But the real test came when the Constituent Assembly decided that India should be a Republic with a President elected by the people. Here was the clearest possible proof of India's independence. Would the other members of the then British Commonwealth accept so radical a change in their association? Nehru put his case clearly and unequivocally, and in doing so he had the support of Prime Minister Attlee and of Lord Mountbatten, the last British Governor-General of India, who had won Nehru's esteem and confidence. He received also, it is known, the sympathy of King George VI. Having been unofficially informed that a Republic could be recognised as a member of the Commonwealth, Nehru put the issue before his Cabinet colleagues, who approved of the idea, and had no difficulty in securing the consent of the Congress. India's proposal formally came before the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in

1949 and resulted in the declaration of London, which recorded the acceptance by the other members of the Commonwealth of India's desire "as a sovereign independent Republic" to retain full membership and of her willingness to accept the monarch as the symbol of the free association of its independent member nations and, as such, the Head of the Commonwealth.

On his return from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, Nehru had to face his critics, particularly the left-wing socialists and the communists, who objected to membership of the Commonwealth on party grounds. But, Nehru defended his action with a vigour and logic which swept aside all opposition. In a broadcast to the nation he pertinently asked whether a country lost its independence by an alliance with another country, and stressed the fact that the strength of the Commonwealth lay in its flexibility and its complete freedom. But his best justification of his policy was contained in a speech to the Constituent Assembly. "We join the Commonwealth," he said, "obviously because we think it is beneficial to us and to certain causes in the world that we wish to advance. The other countries of the Commonwealth want us to remain because they think it is beneficial to them. It is mutually understood that it is to the advantage of the nations in the Commonwealth and therefore they join. At the same time, it is made perfectly clear that each country is completely free to go its own way; it may be that they may go, sometimes so far as to break away from the Commonwealth. In the world today, where there are so many disruptive forces at work, where we are often on the verge of war, I think it is not a safe thing to encourage the breaking up of any association that one has."

When Nehru referred to the advantages which Commonwealth membership brought to India, he was obviously thinking of the many Indians scattered throughout Commonwealth territories, notably in East and South Africa, in Malaya and Singapore, in islands of the South Pacific and in British Guiana. To them, India's continued association with the

Commonwealth was very welcome. There were also important considerations of trade and foreign exchange, both of consequence to India's economic life. But undoubtedly the greatest benefit accruing to India was that in a highly unsettled post-war world, membership of a strong group of nations gave the country a feeling of confidence and stability which isolation could never have done. In the words of Michael Brecher in his book *Nehru: A Political Biography*, Nehru's decision to continue in the Commonwealth "was an act of high statesmanship, for it thwarted the danger of isolation in foreign affairs at a time of grave crisis internally and on the world scene. It marks the first real stabilizing act in India's relations with the outside world."

Nevertheless, the gains were not all on one side. The rest of the Commonwealth also benefited by India's connection. There was added to the group a country with an ancient civilisation and the second largest population in Asia, a development which increased tremendously not only the size of the Commonwealth but its influence in both Asia and Africa. The feelings of the British people were truly reflected by King George VI in his congratulatory message to the new Indian Rebublic in which he declared his confidence that the strong ties of friendship linking the two peoples would be maintained and consolidated, and that they would continue to work together steadfastly for the common good.

Ever since India's voluntary association with the Commonwealth, Jawaharlal Nehru and his Government have taken an active interest in its affairs. Meetings of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference are regularly attended by Nehru, representatives of whose Government are also present at sessions of other Commonwealth bodies. In 1952, for example, the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference in London dealt with India's difficult food position, and Nehru later expressed his warm appreciation of the "deep sympathy and understanding" with which the Commonwealth as a whole received India's case and his thanks for the help extended to his country. This was the occasion on which Nehru referred to

"the importance of our fraternal consultations and the solace we derive from each other to rid the world of want, war, waste and woe."

Yet, there is no doubt that it is in pursuance of his policy of world peace and understanding that Nehru finds the Commonwealth of the greatest possible assistance to him. On more than one occasion, notably in 1951, he paid tribute to the good work which the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference did to preserve world peace. This was strikingly illustrated four years later when the Conference played a notable part in easing tension between the United States and Communist China over Formosa. It is no secret that Nehru's advocacy led the Commonwealth to exercise pressure on America to moderate its attitude during the "offshore islands" crisis which threatened a world holocaust early in 1955. The then British Foreign Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, during his visit to India later in the year, spoke feelingly of Nehru's "wisdom and advice" as a very helpful element throughout these Commonwealth talks. On many occasions, and particularly after the Suez crisis, Nehru eloquently defended the Commonwealth link in the Indian Parliament from communist criticism by declaring that it was in the interest of world peace. There is not the slightest doubt that Nehru finds the Commonwealth an instrument of world harmony, and that one of his main reasons for belonging to it is to develop it along these lines. That he gets satisfaction from his efforts is clear from the tribute which he pays to the Commonwealth's role in promoting international concord.

The Commonwealth is frankly a puzzle to the rest of the world. Other nations, particularly those which are sharply divided on the communist issue, cannot understand an association of free, self-governing countries whose members are divided in race, religion, culture, language and even foreign policy, since India's attitude towards the cold war is one of complete non-alignment unless she is attacked. Yet, the extraordinary thing about the Commonwealth of Nations is that it works. Its members understand one another even if

they do not agree; they can talk very frankly to each other, as India did to Britain over the Suez episode, yet they find that their agreements are of more significance than their differences. And now that the Commonwealth is beginning to include self-governing independent countries ruled by Africans, its importance in preserving peace, and particularly racial peace, is more striking than ever. That is precisely where Nehru's role in the Commonwealth assumes ever-increasing importance.

6

PLANS AND PROGRAMMES

The era of planning in contemporary India has divided articulate public opinion in the country into identifiable schools. Nehru the nation-builder no longer inspires the same unquestioned and uncritical acceptance as Nehru the freedom-fighter did before the dawn of independence. One class finds Nehru's pace of economic and social change too fast; another more or less agrees with Nehru's egalitarian goals but is highly sceptical about the content of his assumptions and the direction of his policies. Between the two is a middle school which accepts his pragmatism and lauds his technique of the golden mean. All these are evaluated by spokesmen representative of different viewpoints in this section.

U. N. Dhebar

The Golden Mean

NEHRU IS no longer an individual; he ceased to be so several decades ago. He is an institution, ever growing, ever evolving, affecting in the process the whole course of events in the vast sub-continent over which he presides, and influencing the lives of countless millions of his fellow countrymen. Nehru's approach to public activities is a continuous process of action and re-action; sometimes it is so fast-moving that he alone can keep pace with it. He both gives and takes from people and thus formulates his plans and policies. In the nature of things his approach at no time can be static; it must always be dynamic.

Speaking at the A.-I.C.C. Seminar in Ooty Nehru said that he was a pragmatist; but that is a part of his being dynamic. In fact, this dynamism pushes or drives him into situations which have no historical parallels or precedents. Sometimes he has to drive the people into positions of responsibility which involve a certain amount of risk. He has in such circumstances to act upon hunches, upon those invisible gadgets which are more or less improvised instruments to meet unpredictable situations. But no one who has known Nehru can fail to figure out the sources of his policies, which are far from pragmatic; they are essentially the outcome of his dynamic thinking.

Nehru's mind is constantly at work. The changes, the modifications and even the shifts in his policies are the result of his thinking aloud. His basic approach is always the same; and it is that approach which gives content to his policies and brings out the values for which he stands. Further, it becomes the

motivation of his larger political effort. In every act of Nehru's, one notices a deep concern for the people; he dedicates himself to their betterment with a devotion which has few parallels in history. I call his approach "Nehruian Humanism". Intrinsically, it is reflected in his broad and deep sympathy for his fellowmen, in his keen sense of justice and in his transparent sincerity in public life. It is these which bound him by bonds of unbreakable loyalty to Gandhiji. The direction of their flow — it is all so crystal clear — is towards reshaping society on the basis of those values which Nehru cherishes so much.

Today, the problem of socio-economic reconstruction in India is being tackled from four or five different angles. There is what is called the capitalist or free enterprise approach. There is the communist approach. There is the purely Gandhian approach; and finally there is the new Congress approach of a socialistic pattern of society. Of the last, Nehru is the source, the designer, the architect. It differs from the capitalistic approach in that there is no exploitation of one class by another. The communist approach necessarily implies negation of individual liberty. The purely Gandhian approach — or the Sarvodaya approach as it is being called today — inspires his respect but he finds it difficult to endorse it in all its implications. Moreover, he is clear in his mind that India cannot and should not in her own interest remain unaffected by the great changes that are taking place in the rest of the world in the realm of science and technology with their possible effect on the way of living and even thinking of people. On the contrary, Nehru believes that these should be received by the people in an organised or planned manner so that it may be possible for India to adjust them to her traditions and genius. In outlining the Constitution he helped to put them in the chapters on Directive Principles of State Policy and Fundamental Rights and since their enactment, has been doing his best to put these policies into action by appropriate governmental measures.

India, however, is a vast country. It contains people at various stages of development. The problems it presents are

of an extremely complex character. Its social and economic life carries within its folds many contradictions that baffle the imagination of even experts. It was a no mean task to outline on the basis of people's consent a new society built upon a new liberal socialist concept involving vast socio-economic changes in a people dyed in centuries of conservatism in practically every field of life. Furthermore, it is no mean achievement to have brought them about in a democratic and planned manner. For this purpose it became essential to adopt a proper technique; Nehru devised that technique, with the result that India today is marching ahead irrespective of the many obstacles that she has to face and the many drawbacks from which she suffers.

Moreover, Nehru's technique is simple; he first secures a broad-based agreement on vital issues setting out the aims in general terms and then proceeds to implement the agreed proposals always remaining conscious of the fact that such an agreement cannot be construed as an agreement of all in all its details. He is prepared to make all possible allowances about details so long as the spirit of fundamental understanding is maintained. Similarly, the guiding principle in the operational stage is the same as at the initial stage — agreement on major essentials and their implementation and fullest accommodation to various points of view on details. It means flexibility — which is sometimes misconstrued as weakness. It is this technique which is Nehru's special contribution to the successful working of socialist policies in a democratic set-up. He does not differ from other socialists in his devotion to a socialist society. But he believes that a good socialist should also be a good democrat not only in his approach but in his functioning. On his part, there is never any desire to bargain. He is always more interested in conveying to others a feeling of willing or voluntary participation.

Because of this technique of his, India has been able to secure basic agreements on so many intricate socio-economic problems. For instance, nobody now disputes the possibility of a mixed economy in a socialist set-up. It is not merely an *ad hoc*

arrangement but is a basis of the whole economic policy of India. Even communists seem to have reconciled themselves to this concept of a mixed economy, may be temporarily. The former Communist Government in Kerala saw no objection to a big industrialist setting up a factory with foreign collaboration not excluding American in that State. Similarly, those who looked at the emergence of a public sector with a degree of trepidation are becoming reconciled to a continually growing public sector. Their original fears are slowly melting away and they are now reconciling themselves to the co-existence of both the public and the private sector to their mutual benefit. In the field of planning too, we find a large measure of agreement on all sides. There is now general agreement that our system should not result in a concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. Further, that the problems of labour and management should be tackled in a more realistic manner. Similarly, there is a new approach towards the working of our social system because of the spread of mass education and the impact of planned economic development.

Slowly India is becoming used to what I would call the "grand national strategy" of Nehru. Broad agreement on principles and on essential details and leaving the people to work out the rest on their own initiative aided by the growth of social or popular consciousness; that is the kernel of his technique. But it has now become the essential part of the socialist philosophy of India. It gives time to the people to assimilate the broad objectives and to understand their implications and the policies based upon them. It ensures people's support and at the same time leaves them free to work out the details to suit their peculiar circumstances. This process is deliberate and continuous so far as Nehru is concerned. In particular, he is sensitive to divergence and slows down the pace the moment he finds it to be too hurried or hustled. Indifference, however, exasperates him as much as slowness. He is like a pilot whose eyes are ever fixed upon the countless gadgets in the huge politico-socio-economic apparatus that he is handling.

It is in this light that Nehru's Five-year Plans must be viewed. They are not a collection of charitable schemes or philanthropic projects or even economic targets; they have a purpose to achieve, and that purpose is to change the entire social structure of India. Through his long tours and long speeches Nehru tries to reason with his people and to impress upon them the urgency to march ahead. He knows that his country is backward; but he has faith in the innate intelligence of his people. He believes that but for the narrow parochial or sectarian attitude of some of her leaders in the past, India would have made great headway in the scientific and technological field. For this reason he is a believer in unrestricted democracy and considers it as an antidote to narrow sectarian trends. Moreover, scientific and technological advance will greatly help the process. Given nation-wide effort and better tools Nehru firmly believes that India can liquidate the economic backwardness of her people, perhaps earlier than others have done. Nehru is clear that no amount of shedding of crocodile tears on the part of vested interests, and their sympathy for the "have-nots" can make one jot of difference to the prevailing maldistribution of wealth; the situation demands not a charitable but a realistic approach. That is why his sympathy for the poor is never an expression of sentimentalism; it is due to a keen sense of responsibility on his part to change the condition of his people reinforced by his conviction that with proper effort these can be changed.

In this task Nehru realises that he has to work with such instruments as are available, some of which are not up to any standard of competence or efficiency. He is, however, struggling to overcome this handicap as best he can. One way of doing it is to inculcate among the people the urge and consciousness for greater scientific and technical knowledge and among those who have the knowledge, greater competence and efficiency.

Nehru's domestic policy is, therefore, a live, dynamic process and but for his own personal dynamism, it would have failed in its purpose, with all the opposition and misunderstanding to

which it has been subjected. Policies require a content to inspire and institutions to work them out; and this can be given only if the people react to them sympathetically and approve of them basically.

Ever since the death of Gandhiji Nehru has been dominating the Indian scene. To his critics it appears to be unnatural. They say that it is totalitarianism. There is nothing unnatural or dictatorial about it. His great emotional identification with the masses and their trust in him assist him in carrying out in practice his rational approach. He symbolises people's aspirations as no one else does. However, their attachment to him transcends political power and party leadership; it is a part of his personal relationship with them.

A self-generating economy in the direction in which Nehru wants to lead India can be operated only to the extent that it has a sound agriculture and industrial policy. For the last twelve years, therefore, Nehru has been thinking about and working on a new economic pattern and at the same time creating a consciousness in its support among the people. His path has not been smooth; there have been controversies over small and big things creating new obstacles and difficulties. He was, however, able to overcome them and he alone could do it. That is why India owes him a great debt of gratitude not only for what she has achieved in economic progress but also for the right climate that Nehru has created for the furtherance of that progress and the correct direction in which it has been set.

So far as broad policies are concerned, Indians are well aware of them. In industry there is the Industrial Policy Resolution which lays down the fundamentals of industrialisation — these fundamentals are as helpful for the consolidation of the private sector as for the expansion of the public sector provided, of course, the basic socialistic approach is not lost sight of. Moreover, practical experience of the two Plans has given us a good idea of India's economic needs; these cannot be fulfilled unless her agriculture is properly regulated and organised. As it is, her agriculture depends upon the caprice of nature which

often brings about floods and drought. Further, there is the pressing problem of overpopulation, with births increasing and deaths decreasing. Rural indebtedness, fragmentation and uneconomic holdings are other factors which operate as barriers to a progressive economy. Primitive methods of cultivation with primitive tools — the hangovers of the past — also impede further development. But if India has to progress she must overcome these handicaps.

Undeterred by this challenging task, Nehru remains an optimist. He is an enthusiast for rapid industrialisation; but he also realises that there must be immediately adequate provision for people's food and assured supplies to them of raw materials at economic cost. Furthermore, he knows that a nation which tries to introduce industrialisation without assuring these things to the people has no chance of success and can even push itself into economic or political chaos. He realises that the supply of agricultural goods — food for the industrial wage earners and raw materials for industry at economic cost — is an inseparable part of a successful industrial plan. He is clear, however, that there is no option for a backward nation but to try and plan on both the industrial and agricultural sides simultaneously, so that there is a balanced economic development.

In this connection, a great controversy has of late started over the role of joint co-operative farming as outlined in the famous Nagpur resolution of the Congress. But this is due to a misunderstanding of the problem. Service co-operatives is Nehru's immediate aim. Experiments will simultaneously be carried on in the field of joint co-operative farming. These will show the extent of their potentialities and also the practical changes needed in the working of such societies. There is no question of compulsion or pressure on the agriculturists. It is a purely voluntary arrangement. The Government will, no doubt, help in the process but there is no question of direct or indirect coercion.

True, an individually-owned farm can be a bastion against communism; but it should also be realised that uneconomic

farms can accelerate the process towards communism. Once a farm becomes uneconomic, it can only produce indebtedness, low productivity and, finally, liquidation. And during that period land becomes neglected. That is why more than 15 per cent of India's population has been reduced to a state of landless labour. Nearly half of our agricultural holdings are less than five acres each. A continued increase in population threatens to make the situation worse. What is needed, therefore, is not controversial politics but a basic understanding of the need for service co-operatives on a country-wide scale and the evolution of democratic methods of joint co-operative farming so that our economic progress is not unnecessarily hampered.

However, as India marches along the new path we notice some gaps; some of them wide, some narrow. But it is a long road and no one, least of all Nehru, believes that we will be able to reach our destination soon. It is his lot to carry on the burden of the policies that he has introduced, and lay the foundation of the institutions suitable for their implementation. The task of carrying them forward lies on others, especially the political organisations in the country; it is their duty, therefore, not to encourage, in the heat of party politics, an irrational approach to economic problems and thus undo the great work that Nehru has done. It is not necessary that one should agree with everything that he has done; but at least the rational features of his planning should be respected and strengthened. In this task the administrative apparatus of the State has much to contribute; no one is more conscious of this than Nehru himself. He is not at all satisfied with its working especially about its integrity, popular responsiveness and human touch. Similarly academic institutions which can play an equally big part in this reconstruction work have lagged behind. They can build our society from within; and that is very essential if all our labours in building it from without are not to go waste. Social institutions also can do much, provided they cease to work on orthodox lines and develop themselves on modern lines. Too much dependence on the State is not conducive to their

welfare; they must build their own strength — as Nehru emphasises so often — and then alone will they be able to break the hold on the people of caste and communal institutions and create the environment necessary for the proper functioning of our socialistic pattern of society.

True, the social institutions under the new set-up do not receive the attention that they deserve; they have been almost eclipsed by economic institutions. But this was inevitable, especially if the living standards of our people are to be raised. In the result production is now increasing; there is better distribution of wealth and proper control on exchange and consumption. This, however, does not mean that India has given up her spiritual or cultural heritage in her search for material progress; that is not possible, especially in view of our ancient past. Of this Nehru is more than conscious. He has never allowed moral values to be discarded; for him — as Gandhiji taught him — the means are as important as the end. An unbalanced approach to life and a lop-sided solution of its problems have never appealed to him. In his recent Azad Memorial Lectures he made his approach abundantly clear; to quote his own words, "We cannot be untrue to science because that represents the basic fact of life today. Still less can we be untrue to those essential principles for which India has stood in the past throughout the ages. Let us then pursue our path to industrial progress with all strength and vigour and, at the same time, remember that material riches without toleration and compassion and wisdom may well turn to dust and ashes."

In the struggle for the economic freedom of India, there is need of both the forces — material as well as spiritual; neither the one nor the other can be built up at the cost of the other. Nehru represents more the material force; Vinoba the spiritual force. It is our good fortune that both of them are not only alive but active in our midst. They are working in concert and harmony with each other. In their combination lies the hope for our future; and that is why I for one do not despair of the ultimate triumph of our socialistic

pattern of society, which promises material welfare with spiritual and cultural advancement to our people.

Today, Nehru is engaged in working out a synthesis between our past cultural heritage and the economic requirements of the present generation; whether he succeeds or not in his lifetime is another matter but there is no doubt that he will have, well and truly, laid the foundations for the same.

A. D. Shroff

A Wrong Path

In all good conscience I find it impossible to write an eulogy on Nehru, particularly in relation to his domestic policies since India became independent. That, of course, does not mean that I entirely approve of his foreign policy either.

I am convinced that one of the biggest failures in Jawaharlal Nehru's domestic policy is the lack of firmness in handling the problem of the reorganization of States on a linguistic basis. Confronted with numerous and more urgent problems, particularly in the economic field, if he had remained firm, the problem of reorganization could have been conveniently deferred for a generation. His public criticism, therefore, of tendencies undermining the essential unity of India as a whole are rather misplaced in that he has, to a certain extent, been responsible for encouraging these tendencies through a weak and indecisive handling of the problem of linguistic reorganization of the States.

Again, whilst I entirely agree with him that the attainment of political independence for India would not be worth much unless it was supported by a large-scale and rapid economic development of the country which would make India ultimately economically strong and very largely self-reliant, the policies adopted by his Government and the measures taken for the implementation of these policies are proving, to an increasing extent, self-defeating in their objective. These policies are based on a certain ideology and philosophy and

it must be conceded that so far as Nehru is concerned, he has consistently believed in them for the best part of his life.

As far back as 1936, presiding over the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress, he said thus: "I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems lies in socialism and when I use this word I do so not in a vague humanitarian way, but in the scientific economic sense. Socialism is, however, something even more than an economic doctrine; it is a philosophy of life and as such also it appeals to me. I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people except through socialism. That involves vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure, the ending of vested interests in land and industry as well as the feudal and autocratic Indian States system. That means the ending of private property, except in a restricted sense, and the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of co-operative service. . . . In short, it means a new civilization radically different from the present capitalist order. Some glimpse we can have of this new civilization in the territories of the U.S.S.R. . . . If the future is full of hope it is largely because of Soviet Russia and what it has done."

Even in those days, this statement of his own philosophy of life fluttered the Congress dove-cots. One of the most interesting letters I have read in the book, *A Bunch of Old Letters* is the one dated 29th June 1936 addressed by Rajendra Prasad, the late Vallabhbhai Patel, C. Rajagopalachari, J. B. Kripalani and others to Nehru in which they stated: "We are of the opinion that through your speeches and those of the other socialist colleagues and the acts of other socialists who have been emboldened by the speeches we have referred to, the Congress organization has been weakened throughout the country without any compensating gain."

The late Lord Morley, an elder statesman in his days, once said: "Consistency in politics is a virtue which gains by concessions." Nehru evidently has not yet learned the validity of this wise political maxim. He still holds, in spite of the

experiences of different countries of the world and the hopeless failure of that "new civilization" in the U.S.S.R. to which he referred in such promising terms in 1936, that socialism is the key to India's problems. On the other hand, the definite opinion expressed by Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachari and others in those days has been proving literally true that the Congress organization has been weakened throughout the country without any compensating gain.

Perhaps, with a pardonable lack of modesty, I may refer to the little part I played in those days when, as Vice-President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber in 1936, I drew the pointed attention of the Indian public and of business men in particular to the dangers inherent in the preaching of the doctrine that Nehru did through his presidential address at the Lucknow session of the Congress that year. Of course, I had to pay the price for this action, the dare-devil criticism of the President of the Congress, in that the Bombay Congress organization took strong opposition to my election as President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber in the subsequent year and was responsible for my defeat.

Nehru never tires of preaching to the public the necessity of moving with the times and adapting our minds and ideas to changing circumstances. He has been very rightly critical of people who have adopted Karl Marx as their guide and philosopher on the very understandable ground that technological and social changes which the world has undergone since the days of Karl Marx leave very little validity for the basis of Karl Marx's preaching. At the same time, Nehru fails to understand that the socialism that he preached in 1936 has been tried out and if not rejected outright, has, in actual practice, been so modified as to be out of recognition. If he would only find time to study the utterances of important leaders of the British Labour Party, he would soon realise that the fanaticism with which he has been persistently advising the country to adopt a socialistic pattern of society as the right and correct means of solving India's economic problems is misdirected and that his philosophy in the light of the

experiences of other countries of the world is out of date and is less suited for India's conditions.

There can be no dispute about the desirability of economic development of the country on a planned basis. With unlimited needs to fulfil and with limited resources, planning for progress is an inevitable necessity. But, there is planning and planning and the sort of planning which has been made for our economic development has been found to be lopsided with wrong determination of priorities, with the result that the progress we have achieved is disproportionately small compared to the cost incurred. One thing is distinctly obvious, *i.e.*, that the main objective of economic development should be to attain a gradually higher standard of living for the masses of the country. In the absence of reliable statistical data, it is not possible to prove decisively the contention I have frequently advanced that no increase in real income has yet been achieved; but by careful observation of the conditions of living in different parts of the country, it is clearly noticeable that there has been no advance in real income. The inflationary process which has set in due to an increasing amount of developmental expenditure in the country year by year has led to a consistent increase in the general level of prices. This situation is particularly aggravated in the case of the bulk of the population of the country through higher prices of food grains which constitute the major item in the cost of living. The biggest failure of our planned development is on the food front which proves that in the determination of priorities adequate weightage has not been given to the development of agriculture, and particularly to increasing production of food grains. The imbalance in planning has been sufficiently laid bare by the fact that inadequate supplies of food grains have caused a drain since independence of something like one thousand crores of rupees on our available foreign resources with the consequence that we have had to resort to extensive foreign aid both to maintain our solvency abroad and to sustain the tempo of development even at the reduced level from the second year of the Second Five-year Plan.

Nehru's obstinate insistence on implementing his objective of establishing a socialistic pattern of society in India has been a blessing in disguise. The measures sought to be adopted to implement this object are making the public increasingly conscious of its implications in actual day-to-day life. The new Food Minister, S. K. Patil, for instance, said the other day that State trading in food grains has caused so much fear and uncertainty that supplies of food grains are withheld from the market. Nehru airily dismissed the criticisms made at the time the Government announced State trading in food grains that to be really successful, State trading would involve extensive controls starting from the farm to the retail shops in the remotest village. That criticism has been demonstrably proved to be correct. State trading in other spheres has also proved to be a case of outrageous profiteering—for instance, in the case of cement—and an unnecessary and avoidable intermediary in many other cases. State trading in manganese ore has only succeeded in destroying nearly 50 per cent. of our very valuable export. State trading, in short, is proving to be a most obnoxious feature in our economy and must be condemned bell, book and candle.

For some years, along with many others, I was a great admirer of Nehru as a great democrat. In actual experience, particularly in recent years, his behaviour has shown that he lacks the essential virtue of a democrat, viz., tolerance for another man's point of view. Surrounded by yes-men and flatterers, he has naturally developed a weakness for believing that there is only one view of every problem and that is his own. The most recent evidence of his lack of tolerance was his criticism of the press which, in the last few months, has been showing an increasingly critical attitude both of Nehru and his Government. So far as I am aware, the press, as it is constituted, has not undergone any important change either on its editorial side or in its financial backing. But now that the press generally in India, particularly since the Nagpur session of the Congress, has been critical of Government policies and actions, Nehru has no high opinion about our press. When, however, the

Indian press generally supported and applauded his foreign policies, Nehru did not hesitate to claim that he had the support of 99 per cent. of the people in the country.

India, of course, will continue to be grateful to Nehru for his tremendous self-sacrifice and exertion as an active member of the Congress Party during the long period of struggle for independence. He is also very largely responsible for the country rallying round our Government during the critical days after independence. But, independent intelligent opinion is becoming increasingly conscious of the fact that he is losing grip over the main problems facing this country. I am, therefore, convinced that both in his own interest and in the larger interests of the country he should now make room for some younger man who can bring a fresh mind and new light to the problems before the people.

Asoka Mehta

Planning Without Progress

DURING THE freedom struggle Jawaharlal Nehru was a principal source of inspiration to us, who were young then and yearned for great things. On a number of occasions he was elected President of the Congress and helped India forward; in 1936 it was due to his leadership that the Congress won remarkable electoral victories, and in the negotiations of 1945-47, he played a significant part. Always his main contribution was the *élan* he imparted, rarely organisational consolidation. In 1936 his whirlwind election campaign throughout the country brought victory to the Congress but the responsibility of guiding the Congress Ministers fell upon Sardar Patel through the Central Parliamentary Board over which the latter presided. After 1947, it was again Patel who consolidated freedom by the historic integration of the princely enclaves with the Indian Union. In the domestic sphere, Nehru's main contribution has been more in broadening the outlook of and giving greater vision to his people. Organisational work always received secondary attention at his hand and his *forte* has been to offer fresh, evocative objectives, to take the vision a notch higher every time. Even now, for instance, when the Community Development Programme begins to lack lustre, he places before the country the objective of co-operative farming. He is ever a step forward; but he rarely attempts to discover where the earlier efforts have gone wrong or how to overcome the inadequacies in a situation.

However, there is no gainsaying the fact that Nehru's politics have been democratic, socialist and secular; his effort has always been to take his country in those directions, maybe more by the force of his ideas than by action.

On secularism he has never wavered. His antipathy to communalism, to sectionalism of any sort, is without reservation. He has ever sought to raise people above narrow loyalties and to make them respond to wider appeals. But even here, firm organisational foundations have never been offered. It was Nehru who conceived in 1936 the programme of Muslim mass contact; but he never worked it out in its organisational details, as Gandhiji and Sardar Patel were wont to do, with the result that while it alerted the opponents it brought little advantage to the national movement.

Since then, on many occasions Nehru has valiantly raised his voice against communal forces and tendencies. But organisationally, even inside his own party, he has failed to take effective action against the insidious onslaught of communal and caste reactionaries.

Moreover, Nehru is undoubtedly Asia's outstanding democrat. When one sees the *debris* of democratic institutions from Egypt to Indonesia, India's success with democracy is astounding. No one can gainsay the fact that Nehru's leadership has provided the anchorage for stabilising democracy in India. Here again one notices his inability to function organisationally while some of his own ideological assumptions have begun to foster erosive forces despite the fact that it is his charismatic leadership which is providing the foundations of democracy.

Let us take the ideological assumptions first. Nehru has always thought of himself as not only a socialist but a "leftist". His thinking has been deeply influenced by the experiences and understanding he encountered in the twenties and thirties. In this he has never been able to shake himself free of the assumption that the communists are a part of the left. The fundamentally anti-democratic character of the communists, Nehru has been reluctant to recognise. What is integral, he prefers to view as an aberration. Deep in him is

the suspicion of the right — he continues to view the main threat to democracy from fascist forces. That the communists have achieved a new position of power in the last decade and that the principal threat to democracy in many countries of Asia comes today mainly from them is not acknowledged by him. He believes that he can tame the communists by goodwill, an illusion he would never entertain about the fascists and the communalists. Towards the communists he has an instinctive indulgence that has weakened the defences of democracy, particularly in his own party. In the result an indulgent attitude towards the communists is deemed to be a mark of a progressive, of being loyal to the legacy of Nehru. It is conveniently forgotten that today within the fold of socialism the world over the *à outrance* fight is between the communists and the democrats.

Nehru is averse to dogmatism but that does not mean that he is keen on experimentation. Hardly any innovation has been attempted by him in the fostering of democracy at its grass roots. He loves to travel round India as "a pilgrim", to bring to the people a new surge of hope and confidence. In that his contribution has been unequalled, but to the extent the institutional base remains shaky, and occasionally caves in, his evocative words produce diminishing response. The magic of his personality, after ten years in power, has begun to fade.

He has been a socialist, and against heavy odds he has striven to push the Congress and the country towards socialism. His understanding of political and cultural forces has been immense, but in economic matters he has generally been unsure of himself. While he has been leading the country towards socialist policies, his understanding of the economic implications of such policies has grown more or less *pari passu* with their unfolding. Socialism, therefore, has come to India under his leadership more as a grand idea than as a strategy of social change.

An under-developed country's leap forward depends, at a certain stage, on organisational effort. It is here that Nehru is singularly weak and if having brought the country so close to

his ideals he faces growing disillusionment, it is because in organisational tasks he finds himself ill-equipped. That organisation, not exhortation, is a substitute for capital is a lesson which it is not easy for Indians to learn; and Nehru, in that respect, has been a typical Indian.

If one were to look at the various policies articulated by him since the Planning Commission was set up, one would discover a model of complex ideas related to socialism. On paper, the policies leave little to be desired. No expert has been able to suggest any improvement in the elaboration of the broad policies. All criticism is directed to the weakness of implementation. Nehru, however, forgets that good ideas get vulgarised through inept execution.

Through devoted labours, Nehru has made socialism the alluring pole-star of Indian endeavour; but just when he appears to have carried his doubting colleagues with him, the very basis of his socialism is being challenged in the country. In the result as Nehru's magic threatens to fade, so does the evocative appeal of socialism.

The two phenomena are related. They are the consequences of the wide divergence that has emerged between enunciation and implementation of policies. The achievement of a lifetime of making social democracy acceptable to the people not as a vague aspiration but as a process and a phased policy is endangered today because of the Prime Minister's chronic indifference to the organisational aspects of his incandescent ideas.

Nehru has, no doubt, inexhaustible energy — from the deep affection of his people new strength wells up in him. The focus of his efforts is his rich personality, but he has rarely sought to build a team, to have colleagues who share his confidence. He is alone, like the peak of a cone, which is of little count. Hence there is no clear line of command under him, and the relevance of the persistent question, "After Nehru, Who? What?" The lonely apex does not strive to draw strength from the pyramid, but on the contrary is proud to keep the pyramid stable on the basis of the weight of the apex. He prefers his dialogue of

ideas with the people and considers dialectics of organisation tiresome.

Nehru's discernment of ideas is near-infallible, but his choice of persons for their implementation is often wrong. If there is a refreshing empiricism in his ideas, there is a strange obtuseness in his attachment to individuals. His mantle of protection is thrown round persons who in fact are incapable of being his collaborators or disciples because the intellectual urges of Nehru are incomprehensible to them. He conceives, as it were, magnificent tunes but bestows little care on the organisation of the orchestra.

Normally, it is wrong to expect the same person to be both the initiator and the consolidator. Nehru's contribution as initiator and inspirer is outstanding. So strong however is the impact of his personality that apart from him there is a sort of void all round him. That throws the burden of consolidation on him, or at least the need to discover why a void surrounds him. To inspire men is important, but to weld them into a team is equally necessary. To discover the rocks on which the church of one's inspired dreams can be raised is a part of the measure of a prophet's greatness. It is here that the judgment of history is likely to be adverse to Nehru.

Nehru's intellectual vision is clear and honest. Because it is honest he makes many reservations in his formulations. These reservations weaken implementation, introduce intractable knots in execution. The intellectual sensitivity somehow weakens the firmness of will.

The main drift of Nehru's domestic policy has been sound; it is its working that has provoked opposition. In the case of all leaders of men there is an angle of refraction between ideas and achievement. In Nehru the angle has grown with the unfolding of his ideas. In their very acceptance has disenchantment grown. That is at once the glory and the tragedy of Jawaharlal Nehru.

S. A. Dange

A Plunge in the Dark

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU's imagination was fired by the idea of economic planning even before he had any power to plan, and that is why as early as in 1937 he set up a planning committee in the Congress. During the first few years of independence, Nehru had to contend with the Kashmir, refugee and other problems, but the real jolt to India's economy came from our own capitalists and landed interests. The instability of post-war economy, particularly the shortage of food and raw materials, was exploited by speculators and profiteers to such an extent that the Government of India oscillated between control and decontrol, between rationing and a free market, between praises for free enterprise and threats of hanging the black marketeers. The profit indices of those years, which ran up to 600 per cent. and the upheavals in the sugar and textile industries showed how the economy was getting out of hand. Naturally, the idea of planning again came to the fore.

Since 1937, the idea of planning had so caught on even in the bourgeois world that big industrialists, who might have normally fainted at the idea of a socialist economy, took up the *mantra* of plan to perpetuate their ideas of a capitalist economy. The Bombay Plan was such a one. When the Government of India proposed the First Five-Year Plan in 1950, no one was surprised.

The planner, as before, was Nehru, who as Prime Minister could not only plan but execute. At his disposal was a whole

continent with vast resources, overflowing manpower, industries already at work and a ready-made civil service. No better canvas for a newly-independent country to draw a plan on and fulfil it, provided one postulate was accepted: A planned economy must first possess control of those forces which generate chaos in the economy and behave in an unplanned way. In other words, the question was could there be planned economy in capitalism, could free enterprise and a national plan go together, could any government of any character fulfil a planned economy.

We completed the First Plan and embarked on the Second; this year, we are already talking of the Third Plan. What is the result of all these years of planning?

The First Plan floated on the profits of the Korean war boom and so the problem of finance was not a serious one. But, finance alone is not Plan. One must know where the principal sectors of production are going, what is being produced, how much and where; one must know where capital is to be found; and whether it is being put to use as planned; one must know how the product is being distributed; one must also know how much is spent on wages and salaries, rent, interest and reinvestment.

The first indicator of any progress in a planned economy is the disappearance of the anarchic price market, runaway prices and stock exchange speculation. The second indicator is the elimination of that unfathomable, all-pervading power of capitalism, namely, private bank capital and finance houses. The third indicator is a stable wage structure and falling unemployment and, ultimately, its total disappearance. The fourth and decisive indicator is the absence of a periodical crisis in the economy as a whole.

Judging by all the four indicators, it is my opinion that we are not advancing at all.

Have we not increased production, have we not raised the national income, is the country not more industrialised, more powerful and more prosperous than before? To all these questions, we may answer yes.

But, that is so in America, England, China, the Soviet Union and other countries. All this can happen in an unplanned as well as a planned economy. If one applies the indicators stated above, one can see the difference. Those indicators are absent in the capitalist countries, that is, in an unplanned economy. All of them are present in countries where there is a planned economy, that is socialism.

That is why in the First Plan we found that the Plan target for cloth production was fulfilled and even exceeded by the textile industry in the third year of the Plan. It was so with the sugar industry too. The planners were not familiar with State production or consumption. The prices were anarchic despite attempts at control, supplies remained beyond reach, people were left without cloth or sugar, mills were being closed in some places and new mills were springing up in other. Very soon, there was a crisis.

The absence of a grip on the economy was most damagingly illustrated when the decision to end food rationing was taken. Government statisticians violently differed as to how much food the country produced and the then Food Minister, while taking the decision, described it as a "plunge in the dark". A plunge in the dark is surely not planning!

An advance in national income and production is possible in the unplanned economy of capitalism also. But, there, the people do not share in that prosperity but suffer ruin. In a planned economy, that is, in socialism, it should not be so and it is not so.

At the end of the Plan period, Nehru told the Avadi Congress that the "First Plan was not a plan in the real sense of the term". He said that we were mostly continuing schemes that had already been projected by the British.

The Second Plan was planned in the real sense of the term. The sense lay in the fact that the emphasis was laid on heavy industry, which alone can lead us to economic independence and prosperity.

Here, too, the decision was influenced by Nehru, who defended it from critics who complained about its size. In the

Second Plan, some key parts of the economy were to be developed in the State sector. The emphasis on State ownership or the public sector in such important spheres of production as iron and steel, oil, coal and engineering led people to believe that this meant a real plan, a real step to socialism.

Even such a real Plan ran into difficulties. Finance, prices, capital goods, markets, wages, taxes, food, employment, all ran into a crisis despite an increase in production and hard work. Apply all the four indicators and it will be seen that there is no planned economy left anywhere in our country. Opening factories, issuing new permits, controlling the movement in trade and the market, telling banks not to advance money for speculation—all these are being done. Nevertheless, the economy is out of control and out of plan.

People attribute this state of affairs to lack of foreign aid, or high wages, high prices, or bad government or corruption or even the will of God!

Even in New Delhi, where all planners live and work, sewage water runs with drinking water, the whole town is gripped by an epidemic, bridges collapse as no iron was used in the cement concrete, despite the tender and the price; a mother kills herself as she could find no work to feed her children, textile mills are closed; steel works are opened. News of these happenings meets one at the breakfast table in the morning paper. That is not planned economy. This picture is not different from that of unplanned capitalist economies anywhere. Nehru sees it, knows it, feels worried, but knows no way out yet.

Some say let us go back to real "free enterprise", real Swantantra, no control, no plan. Trust yourself and trust God. Some say have more control, more rigidity, more morals. Some vote for the private sector, some for the public sector. Nehru would like a mixture of both. In what proportion? The public sector must eventually become the dominant sector, he says. The slogan may be right but how are we to realise it?

Let us take one example, that of foreign investments. These amounted to Rs. 255·83 crores in 1946 and Rs. 555·57 crores in 1957, according to the Reserve Bank Bulletin. That is, these

have more than doubled since independence. In British days, foreign investments were denounced as a sign of our economic serfdom. And now, these are hailed as signs of our "financial stability". Formerly, foreign investors remitted a hundred million pounds from India and we denounced it as a drain on our wealth. Now, they take away perhaps as much or more. But, it is called legitimate exports of profits on capital which has come in to develop our country.

To allow more and more foreign capital to come is said to be the surest way of succeeding in a planned economy and socialism! This shows that a mere change in description or a change in the government does not change the character of the economy. Unfortunately, Nehru the politician does not see it this way.

In April 1959, the banks had advanced Rs. 847 crores for trade, manufacture and other purposes. Of this, Rs. 13 crores were given to stock brokers and share dealers. The other day, a financial journal wrote that there was too much easy money about, hence the shares on the stock exchange were shooting up and there was hectic speculative activity. Where is planned economy here? There was the report of the former Finance Minister, C. D. Deshmukh, that as soon as private capital knew how much was to be the allocation for foreign exchange, it grabbed the largest share for itself, spent its five-year quota in two years and plunged the State into another crisis. The whole Plan went out of gear.

I need not cite more examples. The picture is clear; Nehru knows it. Can he cure the situation? He cannot. The cure is beyond his vision, his philosophy, his make-up.

The cure is not merely to speak of co-operative agriculture. It just cannot be done with the present system.

The driving forces of a planned economy cannot be bank directors, industrialists, foreign business houses or landlords. But it is just these forces which control the economy, sit in the Government or hold its strings. Born and bred in private capital, how can one expect them to do those things which eliminate capitalism, its profits and power? Out of every

productive activity, they must extract a surplus for themselves and give less to the real producer, the worker, on the field and in the factory. That is the source of the economic crisis that every now and then engulfs our society. Even Keynes realised it but could not cure it, because the cure meant taking away the sources of productive wealth from private capital.

The disciples of Nehru in the economic field are trying to apply Keynesian theories to our economy. A periodic crisis and unemployment will ever be with us, declare their leaders. Nehru the humanist and liberal disagrees with this pessimistic conclusion but finds no other means to make his Plan work better than the same Keynesian outlook or the same English liberal democracy of private enterprise mixed with public. The public sector only turns out to be the saviour of the big bourgeoisie from the worries of heavy investment or losses.

What then is the cure? To change the character of the system, the government, the economy; to change, in short, the class that is in power?

Nehru admits of classes and class contradictions. But he hopes to harmonise them. At the same time, he talks of abolishing them. Has he not abolished in his own day one class at least, namely, landlordism, though not fully, by law? A class that was once dominant in our economy has ceased to be. Did he not do it by law and without a class war?

Why should he not do the same with capitalism? Was landlordism abolished by a peasant war? So, why should one insist that capitalism be abolished by a workers' war or a socialist revolution?

Nehru argues, just argues. He forgets the time factor. He only protests emotionally that it should not take so long. Nehru, the bourgeois sceptic, does not believe that there can be a society without exploitation of man by man, that it can be established only by socialising the means of production, distribution and exchange. Who said it? Never mind who said it, that idea is out of date! I can only wish Nehru gets more time to find his way out.

V. K. R. V. Rao

Planning Without Dogma

IN ORDER to understand Nehru's domestic economic policy, it is important to look at his pre-independence or pre-ministerial background. Right from his entry into Indian politics, Nehru has been associated with what may loosely be described as the leftist view. He was associated with the League Against Imperialism, he was a prominent trade unionist, he was a bitter critic of fascism and nazism, he visited the Soviet Union and openly expressed his admiration for its policies of planned economic development, he constantly sought to give a socialist bias to Congress policies and he was the Chairman of the National Planning Committee set up by the Congress. Above all, he always identified himself with the peasant and the worker as against the capitalist and the bureaucrat or the capitalist and the landlord. Concern for the masses, both urban and rural, partiality for a society of diminished inequalities, and faith in planning for economic development — all these formed an intimate and continuous part of Nehru's thought and speech long before he became Prime Minister. It follows then that the economic policies associated with Nehru as Prime Minister are no more than a continuation in the practical and governmental field of the ideas he was associated with during the fight for freedom.

When Nehru became Prime Minister, his economic ideas and more especially the background against which these ideas had been formulated before independence, became important. But he never took on an ideological label. Though reputed to

be the inspiration behind the formation of the Congress Socialist Party, he continued to remain in the Congress Party and to lead it even after the Congress Socialists had gone into opposition. Nevertheless, largely at his instance, the Congress decided at its Avadi session in 1955 that the objective of the Congress would be the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society; subsequently, the phrase 'socialistic pattern of society' was replaced by the expression 'socialist society'. All this, however, was neither preceded nor followed by any ideological discussion or exposition by Nehru. In fact, every statement of his made it clear that it was not a doctrine that was being propounded. This, in fact, is characteristic of the whole position of Nehru in regard to his domestic economic policy.

Nehru cannot be described as a socialist in the fully accepted sense of the term. Whatever might have been his intellectual convictions regarding the fundamentals of the dialectic of history or of the path towards socialism, Nehru has been profoundly influenced by his contact with the personality and thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi. That is why one cannot find in Nehru any emphasis on—in fact, hardly any reference to—class war or class conflict or the materialistic interpretation of history; nor does one find Nehru advocating either the inevitability or even the desirability of a proletarian dictatorship as a means of bringing about the socialist transformation. On the contrary, Nehru is constantly emphasising the importance of working within the context of democracy.

To him, socialism largely means the addition of economic democracy to political democracy. Thus, speaking in Parliament on December 15, 1952, Nehru said: "When we talk of political democracy, we must remember that it no longer has the particular significance it had in the 19th century, for instance. If it is to have any meaning, political democracy must gradually or, if you like, rapidly, lead to economic democracy. If there is economic inequality in the country, all the political democracy and all the adult suffrage in the world cannot

bring about real democracy." Nehru spoke in similar terms a year later in an address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta.

By implication, Nehru likes neither revolutionary violence nor a proletarian dictatorship. He expects the socialism of his conception to get established through non-violent and peaceful means. This attitude is based in part on his profound disbelief in violence as a solvent for social evils. In part, his attitude is based on a great desire for continuity in progress and an almost physical reluctance to see sharp or violent breaks with the past. He wants progress but he desires this progress to take place smoothly and in a continuous line rather than violently or by jerks and discontinuous jumps. He seems to take this attitude not only because of a temperamental reluctance for discontinuous jumps but because of his genuine apprehension that destroying something of today in order to build something much bigger for tomorrow may actually defeat the very purpose for which the initial destruction is undertaken. Nehru told the Constituent Assembly in 1948: "It is fairly easy to break things up. It is not so easy to construct. It is quite possible that in an attempt to change the economic system you may have a period of semi-disaster."

Having accepted the proposition that, to Nehru, socialism means economic democracy achieved through peaceful means, it is easy to see that his approach to the content of socialism is distinguished by a lack of rigidity and an absence of either doctrine or dogma. Nehru shies away from definitions and feels that a socialistic pattern, socialist pattern and socialism "are all exactly the same thing without the slightest difference". Further, "what they are is not such an easy thing for anyone to put down and define except in the broadest terms." His generally pragmatic approach was evident in a speech he made to the A.-I.C.C. early in 1957. He said, "It would sometimes be useful to copy what other countries have done; sometimes it would be useful to avoid it. I do not see why I should be asked to define socialism in precise, rigid terms. What I want is that all individuals in India should have equal opportunities

of growth, from birth upwards, and equal opportunities for work according to their capacity."

On a later occasion, he declared his non-doctrinaire approach even more clearly. He said, "It is not a question of theory of communism or socialism or capitalism. It is a question of hard fact. In India, if we do not ultimately solve the basic problems of our country — the problems of food, clothing, housing and so on — it will not matter whether we call ourselves capitalists, socialists, communists or anything else. If we fail to solve these problems, we shall be swept away and somebody else will come in and try to solve them. So ultimately these major problems of the day are not going to be solved by argument or by war but by the method that succeeds in delivering the goods. .... That method need not necessarily be an extreme method belonging to either of these two rival ideologies. It may be something in between."

The same pragmatic approach is seen in Nehru's handling of the issue of nationalisation. As a believer in the socialization of industry, he feels that far too much attention is often paid to acquiring existing industries rather than to the building of new industries by the State or under State control. He recognizes that in many cases, existing industries of the basic type may have to be acquired by the State and run by the State. But it seems to him a far better approach to make the State concentrate on new industries of the latest type and control them in a large measure.

He gave expression to these views four months after India became free. Six years later, Nehru re-affirmed his belief that socialism should not be treated as identical with nationalisation. In a speech to the Lok Sabha, he said, "I would beg of you not to imagine that because socialism conceives of nationalised industry, you must have all industry nationalised. I think that as the socialist pattern grows, there is bound to be more and more nationalised industry, but what is important is not that there should be an attempt to nationalise everything, but that we should aim at the ultimate result, which is higher production and employment. If by taking any step you actually

hinder the process of production and employment from growing, then, that does not lead you to a socialistic pattern."

Essentially, therefore, Nehru's approach to India's economic problem is pragmatic and practical. At the same time, being an intellectual and an idealist, he is anxious to lead the country in the right direction eventually and wants the people to understand and accept current policy in the light of his long-term objective. This raises obvious difficulties. It is not always easy to reconcile the short period with the long period, especially when one's conception of the long period itself is based on a pragmatic approach. Hence, the many contradictions one sees in the Indian economic scene between theory and implementation. It is for this reason, perhaps, that the sureness of touch which Nehru displays in the handling of foreign policy is lacking when he comes to domestic policy.

Inevitably, there has been no real finality about the pattern of our economic policy so far; and the national debate still goes on, now most vividly illustrated by the emergence of the Swatantra Party and the new vigour of some of the old Gandhian workers who want to curtail the role of the State. I am afraid this debate will go on till the intellectual problem is resolved and some measure of agreement based on real understanding is reached on what should be the nation's economic philosophy and, therefore, what should be the ultimate picture of the society it would like to evolve. When this will happen and whether Nehru's role in this task is going to be that of a protagonist or of a midwife are questions which the next few years in India will answer.

P. C. Mahalanobis

Heralding a New Epoch

To SPEAK of Nehru as a planner, one has to go back thirty years. In May 1929, the All-India Congress Committee passed a resolution stating that "in order to remove the poverty and misery of the Indian people and to ameliorate the condition of the masses, it is essential to make revolutionary changes in the present economic and social structure of society and to remove gross inequalities." This was not acceptance of socialism but indicated an approval of the "socialistic approach".

In March 1931, the Congress at its Karachi session passed an important resolution on fundamental rights and its economic programme in which, among other things, a clear statement was made to the effect that "the State shall own or control key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of transport." The Congress continued to give strong support to the *swadeshi* movement and in the election manifesto issued in August 1936, put great emphasis on agrarian reform and the improvement of the condition of industrial workers.

This was a time of rapid changes outside India. For the first time, economic planning at a national level had started in the U.S.S.R. in 1927, which must have created a strong impression on Nehru at the time of his first visit to Moscow in 1927. On the other hand, a fascist government had been established in Italy in the middle twenties and a nazi government in Germany in the early thirties. It was a time of conflicting movements which found expression in the civil war in Spain.

These developments exercised a powerful influence of political thought in India. Events in the U.S.S.R. gave new meaning and significance to the socialist movement and this was reflected in the emergence of an influential group of socialists even within the Congress. At the same time, the record of spectacular achievements of the nazi government of Germany and the fascist government of Italy gave rise to growing interest in and a lurking admiration for the political economy of fascism in certain quarters. Jawaharlal Nehru was deeply conscious of the dangers of following the path of fascism, notwithstanding its transitory gains, and it was his constant endeavour to direct political and economic thinking in India along the channels of integrated national planning on socialist lines as suited to the needs and genius of the Indian people.

The Congress won the elections in India in 1936 and formed Congress Governments in most of the provinces. On the initiative of the Congress President, a conference of Ministers of Industries was convened in Delhi in October 1938 which was of the opinion that "the problems of poverty and unemployment, of national defence, and the economic regeneration in general cannot be solved without industrialisation." And, on its recommendation, the National Planning Committee, with Jawaharlal Nehru as chairman, was set up by the Congress President in October 1938. This gave a decisive turn to thinking on economic problems in India.

It is well known that the intellectual lead had come from Nehru. In the midst of his political activities, he gave a great deal of time to the work of the National Planning Committee. Between December 1938 and September 1940, he presided over seventy-one of a total of seventy-two meetings of the Committee, had informal meetings with secretaries of subcommittees and issued notes and instructions for the guidance of the members. In his very first note of December 21, 1938, he clarified the Congress policy regarding industries. Referring to resolutions of the Working Committee and the Congress he pointed out that although the Congress desired actively to

support cottage and village industries, it had never made any decision against large-scale industries. It was not only open to the National Planning Committee to consider the whole question of large-scale industries in India but it would be failing in its duty if it did not do so. He said: "There can be no planning if such planning does not include big industries, but in making our plans, we have to remember the basic Congress policy of encouraging cottage industries."

In a memorandum dated June 4, 1939, he quoted the Karachi resolution of 1931 that "the organisation of economic life must conform to the principle of justice to the end that it may secure a decent standard of living," and stressed that a plan of national development must cover all branches of material and cultural life of the people, each part of the comprehensive programme fitting into the others.

He was quite conscious that national independence was an indispensable preliminary for the implementation of a plan of this kind. But he had the vision to get ready for the future of a free India, without however relaxing for a moment from involvement with constructive efforts under existing circumstances.

It was impossible for him to think of India's problems in isolation from the rest of the world and he pointed out: "It is possible that in the event of the formation of a world union of free and equal nations, this sovereign authority might be voluntarily limited to some extent by each component unit in the interests of world planning and co-operation. But such development would not come in the way of national planning. If it takes place on right lines, it might even help planning within a nation."

When war broke out in Europe, he decided that the work of the Committee must nevertheless continue and emphasised its educative value in these words: "The National Planning Committee itself represents many viewpoints, and while we must endeavour to bring them together and agree as far as possible, the possibility of disagreement need not frighten us. A discussion of these different approaches and points of

disagreement will be helpful to us as well as, later on, to the public at large. This in itself has importance as the ultimate policy of the State will necessarily depend on public opinion, and the more informed this public opinion is the better it will be for us. It may be desirable, when our report stage arrives, to consider fully these differing viewpoints."

The aim was to build a free and democratic state in which the fundamental rights of the individual and the group — political, economic, social and cultural — would be guaranteed. The State would be progressive and would utilise all scientific and other knowledge for the advancement of the people as a whole, and for the promotion of their happiness and their material as well as cultural and spiritual well-being. It would not permit the exploitation of the community by individuals or groups to the disadvantage of the former and to the injury of the nation as a whole. To realise the social objective the State must plan and co-ordinate the various activities of the nation so as to avoid waste and conflict and attain the maximum results.

The principle of state ownership or control over key industries and services, minerals, public transport and defence industries was clearly accepted with possibility of extension to all public utilities and large-scale industries; but there was no general programme of nationalisation of existing industries and it was recommended that fair compensation should be paid if a private enterprise is taken over. The cottage industries were to be encouraged and protected, and competition prevented from large-scale industries. Planning was to deal with production, distribution, consumption, trade, social services, income and investment and other forms of national activity which act and react on each other. Big decisions were thus taken, in principle, in 1940, which are now influencing action.

I had known Nehru socially for many years and met him several times when he came to see Rabindranath Tagore. But it was in early 1940 that I had my first contact with him in matters of planning. He had heard of my interest in statistics and,

realising that statistics would be required for planning, had asked me to let him know if I ever happened to be in Allahabad. A little later, I spent one day with him in his Allahabad home when I had gone there to attend a committee meeting. We were both busy during the day. After the day's work was over, we started talking and after dinner, we sat up till after two in the morning. He said that he was afraid he was still rather in a minority in Congress circles and it seemed to him sometimes that the Planning Committee had been set up as if only to humour him.

Sixteen final and ten interim reports were considered and tentative resolutions taken by the National Planning Committee in September 1940. A little later Nehru was arrested and further action was suspended. It was, therefore, not possible to co-ordinate and integrate the separate decisions into a comprehensive national plan. In the next few years, some of the leading industrialists became convinced of the need for planning and took the initiative in preparing "a plan of economic development for India", which was published early in 1944 and is often called the "Bombay Plan".

Much had happened in India and the whole world by the time Nehru was released in June 1945. At the session of the National Planning Committee held in September 1945 it was considered necessary to prepare a factual statement of the changes that had taken place in the country and outside, and their effect on any scheme of planned economy to review the previous recommendations "to speed up production and organise distribution in such a way as to bring about a maximum increase in the standard of living within a minimum period of time." The Committee gave detailed consideration to food, clothing and housing, and emphasised the important role of cottage industries in regard to consumer goods and employment. It also emphasised the need for a rapid expansion of the social services, public health, education, public utilities, and social and cultural amenities. By 1945 there had been great progress in the thinking on a planned economy in India.

In September 1946, the "Interim Government" was formed and Nehru immediately set up a planning advisory board for a rapid review of the projects which had been prepared by various government departments and the report of the board was submitted in December 1946.

Then came independence in August 1947 and Jawaharlal Nehru became Prime Minister. Although the country was in the midst of the difficulties caused by partition, Hindu-Muslim tension and the influx of refugees, one of his first tasks was to have an economic programme committee with himself as chairman appointed by the Congress in November.

The A.-I.C.C. stated in a resolution: "Political independence having been achieved, the Congress must address itself to the next great task, namely, the establishment of real democracy in the country and a society based on social justice and equality. Such a society must provide every man and woman with equality of opportunity and freedom to work for the unfettered development of his or her personality. This can be realised only when democracy extends from the political to the social and economic spheres. Democracy in the modern age necessitates planned central direction as well as decentralisation of political and economic power in so far as this is compatible with the safety of the community as a whole. Our aim should be to evolve a political system which will combine efficiency of administration with individual liberty, and an economic structure which will yield maximum production without the operation of private monopolies and the concentration of wealth, and which will create a proper balance between urban and rural economies. Such a social structure can provide an alternative to the acquisitive economy of private capitalism and the regimentation of a totalitarian state."

This is how the principle of a middle way in economic development came to be formulated. The economic programme committee submitted its report on January 25, 1948, and together with many detailed proposals, recommended the appointment of a permanent Planning Commission. At first Nehru's idea was to keep out of it but, when the Commission

was established in 1950, he was persuaded to become its chairman. This was a wise decision as little progress would have been possible in strategic issues without his leadership and guidance.

The First Five-Year Plan (1951–52 to 1955–56) was based broadly on the projects which had been already prepared and some of which like the Damodar Valley Corporation and the Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory had actually started. The emphasis was on agriculture and there was little or no provision for basic industries. India was producing at that time only about one million tons of steel, although the country had the largest reserves of high quality iron-ore in the whole world. A provisional decision had been made for the installation of a second million-ton steel plant but this was dropped. An acute shortage of steel, however, soon developed and the Prime Minister became convinced of the urgent need for increasing the production of steel and necessary action began to be taken from 1953-54.

It became increasingly clear that the outlook of planning must have a wide time-horizon of fifteen or twenty years or more. After a full discussion in the Planning Commission in September 1954 on long-term objectives, it was decided that the aim must be to lay sound foundations for a continuing increase in the level of national income and the level of living to get rid of the fear of unemployment (if possible, in ten years), and to bring about increasing equality of opportunities and the lessening of great disparities of income and wealth.

Nehru initiated the joint studies by the Planning Commission, the Finance Ministry and the Indian Statistical Institute, which led to the formulation of a draft Plan-frame in early 1955. There was a new approach. Emphasis was to be placed on the rapid development of heavy machine building, heavy electricals, steel and non-ferrous metals, and energy to supply a sound foundation for economic self-reliance. Attention would also be given to the required expansion of consumer goods, as much as possible through cottage and village industries, which would create a great deal of additional

employment. There was greater appreciation of the close interlocking of progress in industry and agriculture. Industrial development was essential to provide an increasing supply of fertilisers, pesticides, machinery and equipment for agriculture, irrigation, drainage and land improvement. An increase of agricultural production was essential to supply additional food and raw materials for industrial progress. There was need for increasing the supply of scientific and technical personnel and expanding facilities for training them. Nehru gave strong support to the basic policy and to the proposal of having a Plan with an outlay in the public sector of about Rs. 4,500 crores in five years or something roughly double the size of the First Five-Year Plan. The fundamental change of outlook in the Second Five-Year Plan could take place once because of the lead given by Nehru.

In scientific matters, Nehru's leadership has been very clear and definite. He has always been taking a keen interest in scientific research and the progress of science and technology in general. It was due to his personal interest that a large number of national laboratories have come into existence and large resources have been made available for the development of atomic energy and the exploration and exploitation of oil and minerals in the public sector. His intervention was decisive in the acceptance of the decimal coinage and the metric system. It was again because of his leadership that increasing attention is being given to the training and expansion of scientific and technical manpower.

The functions of the Planning Commission have never been quite clear. Its recommendations are advisory in character and important policy decisions have to be made, quite properly, by the Central Cabinet. At the same time, the Planning Commission gradually acquired the responsibility of examining a large mass of detailed schemes and projects and of giving or withholding its approval. It is not possible for the Prime Minister to attend to these details as the Chairman of the Commission. It, therefore, became necessary to create the post of a Deputy Chairman to look after the detailed work.

The situation being what it is, this has been a convenient arrangement. It has left the Chairman free to concentrate on strategic issues.

This is a task which suits Nehru. He has a full appreciation of the scientific revolution which is transforming the world. The content of science changes every day. The spirit of inquiry and the search for truth give science its enduring value. Nehru realises that continuing economic and national development in India would be possible only through the advancement of science and technology. He attaches equal importance to human values and art, literature, music and such other things. This makes it possible for him to take a view peculiarly suited to Indian needs and traditions. His aloofness from details has served to preserve an openness of mind and the ability to take a broad view of the problems.

The Nehru approach to planning may, perhaps, be called the middle way. It is an attempt to achieve rapid economic progress in a manner in which political and economic democracy would be reconciled. He has great faith in persuasion which stems from his sense of democracy. In his speeches on planning, one can continually feel how he is trying to present the whole case, both for and against, hiding nothing. Sometimes, one gets the impression as if he is thinking aloud and trying to get a balanced view of the whole matter. In discussions also, he tries to understand and appreciate the opposite points of view. In important matters, he always tries to reach an agreed solution. If differences of opinion persist, he will adjourn the meeting and resume the discussion another day rather than reach a quick decision. Sometimes, it seems as if the educative process itself is of supreme importance to him, that is, as if the meeting of minds is more important than the decision itself.

This is why he is extremely reluctant to use his personal influence in any way. Persuasion must be achieved through the right way of thinking and not by personal pressure. He does, of course, have individual discussions from time to time but these are also kept at an impersonal level. This partly explains

the fact that he has never built up a group of his own men, so to say, in any committee or organisation. As the leader of the ruling party he is obliged, of course, to use the party majority in Parliament, but even this he does, I should think, from a conviction that he enjoys the confidence of the people of India. In fact, the bigger the group with which he is discussing a proposal, the greater is his confidence of being able to carry conviction to them.

Nehru has strong convictions regarding aims and objectives and firm faith that the right way would ultimately prevail. His attitude of mind is, therefore, essentially constructive and he would always like to do whatever may be possible in existing circumstances. That is why in 1940 in the midst of all the uncertainties of war and rapidly deteriorating political conditions in India, he could proceed with the task of national planning with supreme confidence. He does not believe that it is ever possible to have or start with a "clean slate". One must make the best use of whatever is available. This leads to what is sometimes called "compromise". It does not matter what it is called, but it is important to recognise that there is no surrender of basic aims or values but only an attempt to make the best possible advance under existing circumstances instead of standing still, waiting for more favourable conditions.

His flexibility of approach can be easily appreciated, for example, by his attitude to foreign aid. In the National Planning Committee, he had taken a strong stand against foreign capital because it meant alien influence in economic affairs. Now that India is independent, he would have no objection to foreign loans provided these are intended to assist economic development and are given in a form which would not give rise to any foreign influence in Indian affairs. Consistent with the Nehru policy in international affairs, he would welcome such economic aid from all friendly countries. What of the future? Before answering this question it would be useful to classify problems of planning, or rather of implementation, into two classes, one, which may be called

the "concentrated" sector, in which decisions can be made by a small group of persons and can also be implemented by a small group of persons and the other, which may be called the "diffused" sector, in which the implementation would depend on the concurrence and participation of a very large number, may be hundreds of millions of persons. A typical example in the concentrated sector is establishing a million-ton steel plant and in the diffused sector, organising village co-operatives. This is an oversimplification, but it is a convenient classification to understand the present situation in India.

The Prime Minister has been generally more effective in decisions in planning in the concentrated sector, for example, in regard to industrialisation. Very soon five million tons of steel would be produced in India every year and the production is likely to go up by ten or twelve million tons in another six or eight years. Heavy machine building, heavy electrical and other basic industries are being developed, and with a clear lead from the Prime Minister, more and more capital goods would be made in the country and would make Indian economy self-sufficient, self-reliant and self-accelerating. With increasing production of fertilisers, agricultural implements, machinery for irrigation, etc., the production of food and agricultural raw materials should also increase to keep pace with industrialisation.

In recent years, Nehru has started giving increasing emphasis on institutional changes and social reorganisation such as the development of village co-operatives, state trading, community development and family planning. There is urgent need for an equalisation of opportunities for education and care of health. All this falls in the diffused sector. Implementation would depend on the acceptance of the programme by the common people, and would have to be spread over the whole country or over large regions, and wise variations will have to be made to suit local needs and conditions. Nehru has been acting as a great teacher and educator to put across these ideas in a simple language and homely style to millions of the

common people all over the country whom he meets in the course of his frequent and far-flung tours. He is also continually stressing the need for decentralisation and delegation of executive powers and responsibilities. This is where the position is still weak.

Most of all, there is need for greater coherence and unity of purpose in the whole social organisation. This is ultimately a question of growth, of wisdom and responsible awareness of the needs of the nation as a whole. This is what Nehru has called emotional integration without which a big country like India cannot hold together. Wider diffusion of education is necessary but cannot by itself guarantee social and political maturity. Administrative decentralisation is essential and much would depend on the extent to which this can be achieved in practice. There are many intangibles and it is difficult to speak with certainty.

Under the leadership of Nehru, India has made big advances. He initiated the thinking on planning in India. Through his speeches and through planning committees and the Planning Commission, he has exercised a profound educative influence and made India conscious of the need for national planning. Through the Congress Party and the Government, he has made planning an instrument of national policy on the biggest scale outside the communist countries, and has persuaded India to accept socialism as her goal. He has brought to Indian planning a full appreciation of the scientific revolution which is transforming the world, a sensitive awareness of human values and cultural traditions, an inherent sense of democracy and an international outlook.

One thing can be said with complete certainty. Jawaharlal Nehru has carried India into a new epoch. Whether there is a smooth transition or whether India has to pass through storms on her way to progress, it will be impossible to go back to a stagnant economy. Through his leadership, he has brought about profound changes in social and productive forces which will continue to influence the course of events in India in the most decisive way.

7

FACETS AND ASPECTS

The impact of Nehru on Indian life and society is as complex as his personality and as varied as his interests. He has made significant contributions to such diverse fields as literature, law, education and the arts. He may be indifferent to religion but few will dispute the proposition that his life is rooted in abiding, spiritual and cultural values. Nehru is understandably far from a perfect being but his failings are more than made up by his virtues. The range of his endeavour and achievement in such a multi-faced life is gauged by specialists in this section.

Sri Prakasa

A Buoyant Personality

LET US study Jawaharlal not so much as Prime Minister but as man. Doubtless his birth and his education gave him a very high and assured position in life. But he never speaks about it. Very few can induce him to talk about his ancestry or his days at Harrow or Cambridge. Not to many would he speak of the part he has played in different spheres of public life or the honour that he has received in distinguished circles of people of the highest distinction in art and literature, in science and industry, in war and peace, in politics and national service. He just does not talk about himself as so many of us are inclined to do. He carries his greatness very lightly. He is very human. He is at home everywhere and in all surroundings. He adapts himself quickly to environment; and nobody has ever any reason to feel that he regards himself greater or less than any one he meets. He puts himself on a level with everyone.

Another characteristic of his is that he is a very good friend and stands by his colleagues through thick and thin. No one can approach him without receiving his affection and sympathy. This is something that is known to all those who have been privileged to be associated with him in any way in life. He recognises a friend in the largest crowd and he greets him affectionately in the midst of the biggest men around him. He has no hesitation in acknowledging a person to be a friend and a colleague, however humble he may be. Many fast friendships were forged by him in the days of our struggle; and Jawaharlal recognises those who suffered with him in those

difficult times even as he sails on the crest of the wave at the present moment.

Another great and noble quality that I have found in Jawaharlal is that he never speaks ill of others. He seems to follow strictly the injunction: "Do not talk of others what you could not talk to them." I do not know if anyone has heard him speak ill of anyone else. Even if he has criticised, he has done so in restrained language and more in sorrow than in anger. Whatever he has to say he says straight to the man's face and certainly he has never many hard things to say.

He is a very reliable and responsible person. If he says he would do something—whether it is a small matter of lending a book or a few rupees of assistance, or something very big in which great risks are involved and great dangers have to be faced—he has always stood like a rock against adverse winds and has always fulfilled whatever he promised.

Then, he is an extraordinarily hardworking person. He seems to put in, in the course of a single day, what others would take many days to do. Anyone who knows him is struck with amazement at the amount of work that he can do. How he manages to do so much, and keep in constant touch with men and affairs all over the world all the time, is difficult for ordinary folk like myself to understand. He makes light of it all when one speaks about it to him and keeps smiling despite everything. When he relaxes and plays with children or animals, walks in the garden enjoying the sight of trees and flowers, or chats with friends and cracks jokes with them, he does not seem to carry any burden of work or anxiety. He is a person of great concentration of mind and attends to his manifold duties one after another in a very regular and methodical manner without allowing himself to be ruffled by the enormity of work or worried by its complicated nature. It is just astonishing how much he knows and how easily he carries the load of information he possesses. Being a very regular and punctual person, he is able to do much more than others. Everything about him is neat and tidy. There is no

confusion in his house or in his mind. He is very meticulous in the management of things.

Then, there is his spirit of detachment which is a very great quality. I doubt if I have met many who have this to the extent he has. He has had his sorrows and bereavements. He gets over them in the spirit of the *Bhagavad Gitā* knowing that one must not mourn for what is inevitable. *Tasmāt apārihārye-rthe na twam shochitu-marhasi*. He attends to his work also in the spirit of the great scripture that declares that *yoga* is efficiency in action (*yogah karmasu kaushalam*) and also that all acts should be done without attachment (*yogasthah kuru karmāni, sangam tyaktvā Dhananjaya*). So he does his day's hard work, and then does not worry about it. He appears—without perhaps knowing [illegible]—to follow Lord Krishna's injunction: "Thy duty is to do thine tasks regardless of results" (*Karmanye-vādhikāraste mā phaleshu kadāchana*). Many of us are more anxious for results than the act itself. That does not enable us to use our full capacity and energy, or put our mind and attention to the work in hand. It would be good if we followed Jawaharlal in this and worked hard, whatever the nature of the work we have undertaken may be.

Let no one have the idea that Jawaharlal is careless about his health. In fact, he is—and quite rightly too—very careful about it. Unlike many of our countrymen in intellectual and sedentary pursuits, he has never neglected it. He is a very punctual and methodical person and leads a very regular life. Even though he works so hard, he does not deny himself a few hours of necessary sleep every night, nor does he neglect the physical exercises that suit him. For this, he very much depends upon *yogic āsanas* and practices. This has enabled him to preserve his health to a very remarkable extent. He is indeed blessed in that behalf; he believes that *tandurusti hazār nematast*, as the Persian proverb goes. He is also careful about his diet and knows exactly what agrees with him. I have never seen him undertaking any of the political fasts with which we have been familiar, nor partaking of excessive or rich food. He has always lived well—simply though expensively—never

denying himself anything and never over-doing anything. He has also been very careful about his clothes. No one has found him slovenly or carelessly dressed. I have seen him immaculately dressed in European clothes and also in ordinary homely *dhoti* and *kurtā*. Every type, curiously enough, suits him, though that cannot be said of many others who may look well in one sort of clothing and not in another. There is an English saying that only Lord Chancellors and Prime Ministers can afford to be careless about their clothes. In India it seems to be the other way round! The *Bhagavad Gitā* enjoins that *yoga* does not reside either in overeating or in absolute fasting. It is neither in oversleeping nor in keeping awake. It lies in a balanced life of proper food and enjoyment, proper work and sleep:

Nā-tyashna-tastu yogo-sti, na-chaikānta-manashnatah,
Na-chāti swapna-shilasya, jagroto-naiva-chārjuna.
Yuktāhār vihārasya, yukta-cheshtasya karmasu,
Yukta swampnā-yabodhasya, yogo bhavati dukkha-ha.

Jawaharlal is a person of rare courage. He does not know what fear is. Morally and socially, physically and intellectually, he appears to me to be absolutely fearless. That is a great virtue and not many have it. It is, however, perhaps not right for him to say publicly, as he did the other day, that he does not fear even God. Just as he pleads that we should not upset the minds of men by giving them wrong ideas in the sphere of our nation-building activities, so also must he not upset men's minds in the matter of their beliefs of good and evil. There would not be many who would refrain from evil if they did not believe in God or some mysterious arrangement by which one is liable to be punished if one does wrong. The *Bhagavad Gitā* definitely enjoins: *Na buddhibhedam janayet ajnanām karmasanginām* (Thou shall not unsettle the minds of ignorant people attached to action). My father, Bhagawan Das, often used to say that Jawaharlal was religious despite himself, despite his own logic. When one sees Jawaharlal so

truthful and honest, so clean and straight, one wonders what else a person recognised as religious can possibly be.

I have dealt above with the qualities that I have myself seen in Jawaharlal through four decades of close association. I have singled these out because they are such that we can all imbibe ourselves so that without wanting to be as great as he is—that would be an unhelpful and dangerous thought, and may even retard us from becoming what we can otherwise easily become—we might make ourselves useful in our own surroundings, and be happy and content with ourselves.

Jawaharlal is by no means a perfect being. Being only human, he has his failings, and it is just as well that he has them. But these are really submerged by his qualities, just as in the words of the Sanskrit poet, Kālidāsa, the fault in the form of the spots in the moon is eclipsed by the virtues of her effulgent rays. (*Eko hi dosho guna-sannipāte, nimajjatīndo kiranesh-vankah.*) People must have found him impatient when they do not come up to his standards, maybe due to limitations not of their making or want of advantages and resources which they did not have. They might have found him improperly short-tempered when he could be sympathetic and understanding. They might have very often found him unnecessarily impulsive and impetuous even to the extent of being undignified. But all that only shows that he is very human and continues to be so, despite his age and his greatness. All that shows an absence of pride in his nature; and if he feels that he has made a mistake or has hurt anyone, he hastens to offer handsome apologies which even ordinary folk would hesitate to do in our land. To me, judging from the public standpoint, his great drawback is his "individualism" which is the common failing of many of his countrymen, great and small alike, and which he also seems to have been unable to avoid. He does not leave anything to anybody else, lest it should go wrong. Whether it is the arrangement of his office-table or the fulfilling of a great international task, he takes everything on himself. Temporarily, those who work with him—domestic servants

or political and official assistants of whose personal needs and requirements he is so scrupulously mindful—may feel happy that they are freed from work and responsibility, but all this is really not good for them. People must, therefore, learn from him what he will not teach them.

Many will say that he has had great advantages that birth itself gave him. He has never experienced cold or hunger. He had all his creature-needs satisfied without asking. He received the best possible education. He has had so many resources always at hand that he could naturally do much more than any one else could. All that may be true to some extent, but certainly it is not the whole truth. Many persons have had more advantages and more resources than he has had, but have not been able to do even a tithe of what he has done. In fact, they have lazed and squandered away what they had as he too might ordinarily have done. But he did not—and all honour to him for it. Let no one go away with the idea that his resources have been unlimited. He has even suffered from financial difficulties in the matter of meeting private liabilities and fulfilling public duties. Let me give a very funny little example. It so happened that once Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi—the renowned patriot and hero of Kanpur who immolated himself by rushing between warring Hindus and Muslims in the terrible communal riot in his home town in 1931 and met a cruel though glorious death—and I visited Jawaharlal at his office in Allahabad when he was General Secretary of the Congress some time in 1929. Jawaharlal was always very keen on keeping contacts with foreign politicians and statesmen. In fact, he put the country on the map of the world more than perhaps any other person of our land. Whenever foreign politics were being considered, even Mahatma Gandhi sent his interlocutor to Jawaharlal for information and guidance.

On this particular occasion—I remember it all too vividly—Jawaharlal said to us, "If only I had another twenty-five rupees a month, I could carry on more correspondence with these foreign dignitaries and gain more sympathy and

understanding for us from them." As we came out of the room, Ganesh said to me, "Was Jawaharlal serious? Would he be in need of a paltry sum of Rs. 25 per month for his work? I cannot believe it. I could easily arrange that myself, poor as I am." Perhaps I knew better than Ganesh. Only we felt too shy and embarrassed to go back to Jawaharlal and make the offer. Many persons have told me who have had their own little jealousies—unavoidable in public life—that Jawaharlal has had the great advantage of having started high up on the ladder while others have had to struggle from the bottom, because of his birth and because of circumstances that brought him in close touch with Gandhiji who made him his political successor at once. That may be true; but one who like myself knows something of the inside story of Jawaharlal's moving and inspiring life can say that he has worked very, very hard as he climbed rung after rung of the ladder of success; and be it always remembered that he never worked either for success or greatness. He worked for the sake of the work itself, and for the achievement of the ideal of national liberty. Success and greatness came to him unasked and even unwanted—in fact, they came more as an encumbrance and embarrassment rather than as encouragement and help.

As one sees him today, he scarcely looks seventy. Hard work and unavoidable anxieties attendant on the life of a Prime Minister in these trying and testing times have certainly aged him of late. Still for his age he is indeed a very buoyant person. Years do not seem to have made much inroads upon him.

Sampurnanand

Seeker of Ultimate Reality

THERE IS no individual who possesses not a multiple personality. The multiple nature of the personality is directly proportional to the environment in which the individual is brought up and to the complexity of the experiences through which he has passed in adult life. Most human beings manage to merge these personalities into a reasonably integrated whole which is a more or less successful approximation to a personality ideally suited to the role which the individual has to play in the circumstances in which he finds himself. Success is achieved by inhibition, compartmentalisation and sublimation of urges and complexes, more on the subconscious than on the conscious plane, and left-over tendencies which have failed fully to integrate, betray themselves, if at all, by oddities of behaviour which are generally looked upon as rather pleasing traits of character causing no permanent resentment, even if at times they seem to be unnecessarily aggressive. This is, of course, true of personalities which are recognised as preponderantly beneficial to society; the departure of the other type of individual from the ideal of the perfect tyrant or the perfect sinner is no doubt an interesting study but I shall not pursue it here.

It would be surprising if Jawaharlal were not a very complex personality. His early days in a well-to-do Hindu family holding very unorthodox views on most religious and social questions, his long stay in England during some of the most impressionable years of his life, the silent but potent influence

of his wife, the late Kamala Nehru, the kaleidoscopic changes in the Indian political scene in which fortune gave him the cast of one of the most important heroes and the tremendous impact on his life of the personality of Mahatma Gandhi—all these factors have endowed him with a rich personality which few men can hope to attain. It is a fairly integrated whole: the oddities which force themselves out at times only serve to lend colour without seriously detracting from the uniqueness of the whole. There are also unresolved elements of which many people, and Jawaharlal among them, are generally not conscious. They sometimes come into the open and surprise those who never suspected their existence. In general, however, they are kept very much in the background.

Let me take the last point first. No one would suspect Jawaharlal of being a religious man or paying any serious attention to metaphysical hypotheses. And yet those who have come in touch with him frequently enough know that spiritual values make a deep appeal to him. He too seeks in his own way, in what he conceives to be the purely scientific way, knowledge about the ultimate reality; he also glimpses that something which is immanent in, and at the same time transcends, all that exists and gives to life its true context and meaning. I should like to give in this content an excerpt from his article on "The Basic Approach" which appeared in the *Economic Review* of August 15, 1958: "In considering these economic aspects of our problems, we have always to remember the basic approach of peaceful means; and perhaps we might also keep in view the old Vedantic ideal of the life force which is the inner base of everything that exists." If this article had not been written, few people would have imagined that there is any room in his mind for this fundamentally non-materialist view of life.

It is true, at the same time, that he has a strong abhorrence of and contempt for that pseudo-spirituality which is so prevalent in the country. His denunciation of it is perfectly justified. At a meeting held recently in Delhi, the subject of animal husbandry came up for incidental discussion. From that

subject, Jawaharlal's mind which passes from one subject to another with astonishing rapidity jumped to my insistence on our adoption of a positive philosophy of life. He admitted the validity of my thesis but pointed out with great vigour that any attempt to make a really philosophical approach is impossible in a country where the popular mind equates spirituality with unreasoning worship of the cow. He was caught up by his own strong feelings on this subject and both spirituality and animal husbandry were left far behind. At a break in his discourse, I quietly remarked, "All this is right but I wonder how poor Sampurnanand got mixed up with horses and cows." He at once exploded into laughter and the matter ended. It seems to me that it is only a man who has deep reverence in his heart for true spiritual values who can attack its false image so strongly, when he knows very well that his words will make him unpopular among large sections of the population.

People do not generally hear him singing hymns in praise of our old culture and the persons and things symbolising it or prominently associated with it. And yet when he speaks of Kashi or the Buddha, one can feel the genuine ring of deep reverence for all that these names signify. Recent events in Tibet, culminating in the Dalai Lama's seeking refuge in our country, aroused a wave of deep feelings in India which the Prime Minister completely shared with the people. His references to Kailas and Mansarovar and our age-long association with that region showed his attachment with the deep currents of Indian culture, whatever his attitude may be towards some of its present-day manifestations.

His temperament and upbringing make him allergic to what may be called the master-disciple relationship. The nearest he came to it was in his own attitude to Mahatma Gandhi but he, in his turn, is no one's Guru. Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Patel, Jawaharlal himself—all these men were transfigured by their contact with the Mahatma. There is probably no one in whom Jawaharlal has produced a similar metamorphosis. His energy, his sincerity, his intellect evoke respect and inspire confidence but they do not produce a sense

of personal loyalty and reverence. Jawaharlal moves millions but there is hardly anyone who can be called his successor in any except a purely physical or political sense.

Men whose lives are dedicated to public work have little scope for a play of the emotions; in any case, they are undemonstrative. This is naturally true of Jawaharlal. But so long as an acquaintance does not fall in his estimation by his unworthy conduct, he can always rely upon him for sympathy and help. And there is always a warm corner in his heart for old comrades-in-arms, the men who shared with him the trials of the long-drawn-out struggle against the British. Those were wonderful days, the days in and outside prison, and no one who has had the privilege of passing through that experience will ever forget it. Many of those comrades are no more with us but we shall cherish their memories to the end of our own days.

Many interesting incidents come to my mind. For instance, my first conversation with Jawaharlal on the subject of socialism took place in Ghazipur while we were actually bathing in the Ganga. The year was 1923 or possibly 1924. We had gone there in connection with the District Political Conference. Some Russian literature had been smuggled into India and I had secured access to it. This started the discussion which naturally centred round the possibility of establishing a socialist economy in India. I do not remember the details. Naturally, neither of us had clarified his ideas at that time; I, at any rate, had not. The Soviets then provided the only model one would have to go by.

There are people who will find him intolerant of opinions not consonant with his own and domineering. To some extent, the complaint is true. The fault is partly temperamental, partly the result of early upbringing and partly born of the impatience felt by an active man who wants to get things done when he finds himself surrounded by a sea of faces whose one distinguishing feature is inertia, shirking of responsibility and indulgence in endless talk. But he is not unaware of this weakness. He realises the strong points of the

other man's arguments and tries to modify his own views accordingly. And he is essentially democratic at heart.

His averseness to matters of detail is sometimes disconcerting but his enthusiasm and confidence are infectious. His impetuous nature, his intense dislike of anything that savours of injustice, weakness or inefficiency sometimes creates embarrassing situations. He lashes out in criticism based on *prima facie* evidence which later study may prove to be wrong. Such unwarranted criticism hurts. It must be said that Jawaharlal is the first to admit his mistake and make amends but the aftermath sometimes persists. A person who has been publicly castigated without having had the chance to refute the charges against him sometimes finds it difficult to forget this experience. He knows there was no malice in the criticism but he also knows that he has suffered in public estimation. One is reminded in this context of the comment made by Narada when Sri Krishna complained to him about the difficulties in running the Dwaraka democracy. Narada pointed out that democracies were always a difficult proposition but Sri Krishna's temper and impatience added to the difficulties of the situation.

Nehru has never posed as a saint but his bitterest enemy will not fail to concede that he is a thorough gentleman. He has his likes and dislikes like most men and such feelings are not always rational. Nor is his enunciation of his opinions always as balanced as one might expect from a man of his intellectual attainments and scientific bent of mind. None the less his is a great personality of whom the country may well be proud.

Vincent Sheean

A Himalaya of Optimism

THERE IS not much use, really, in telling people not to carry coals to Newcastle. Newcastle is just about the only place where most people do want to carry coals, and precisely for the reason that they are not needed there. By carrying them we do no good—we add, just possibly, to a magnificent total, we join a movement, we increase the diapason of a chord. That is the most we can do but, oddly enough, it is what most of us do want to do most of the time.

Thus it is with writing about Jawaharlal. We who are little heeded must also join the procession, along with the princes and potentates of the earth, trailing our insignificance in their wake like herrings after whales, merely to say that we, too, take heart to think that this man lives. It is quite simply a better world because he is in it, and we shall all be poorer when he withdraws.

Some part of this, naturally, is inseparable from the position he holds and has held for twelve very critical years. Indeed, if he were not the Prime Minister of India there would be fewer men and women carrying coals to Newcastle. But I for one would carry my coals just the same, whether he held this or any other position, and if he were, as he has been earlier, in jail. What I see in him is a triumphant human character, one which has vanquished almost every obstacle to its own evolution. There are few examples in either history or literature of such a victory.

Let me say, with that indiscretion which is supposed to be native to Americans, precisely what I mean. Jawaharlal was

not born non-violent; he has become non-violent, and at great cost. He was not born patient; he has become patient, and it has cost him much suffering. He was not even overweeningly peaceful in his original nature; combat has always attracted and aroused him and yet he has become the principal apostle of peace in the world today. His life is offered upon an altar which he could not even see when he began. He has come to this altar by the hard, bitter climb of innumerable steps. How few, how very few there are, in the whole history of humanity, who have endured to the summit of such a stony ascent, shedding the skins of other years, the detritus of the past and the stubborn assertions of the self! He may stand alone on this summit at last, as I think he does, with bleeding feet and heart, but his soul must exult and sing out. He must know that he has been true to God, to India and to all mankind, to Mahatma Gandhi and to the very least of us now living.

This fidelity, I believe, is instinctive. I have watched Jawaharlal incessantly for more than twelve years, sometimes from afar and sometimes from close quarters; I was thoroughly aware of him for decades before I even knew him; and there never has been a single moment when I doubted the power of his intellect in respect of perceptions, apprehensions, tactility or even analysis. But I have never considered that his principal decisions were determined by his intellect, no matter how formidable it may be. His principal decisions have been determined by an instinct of right and wrong, a selective principle innate in his nature but much fortified through his long and rather bewildered association with Mahatma Gandhi. His gravest difficulty has arisen when this instinct imposes a course of which his intellect has doubt. In a sense one may say that his twenty years of bewilderment with Gandhiji have been perpetuated in his own heart and soul: instinct speaks and intellect doubts. Instinct is right; instinct wins; instinct makes the decision and intellect still doubts.

Jawaharlal is not a common man, much as he would wish to be. He once said to me, rather pathetically as I thought, "I am much more a man of the people than my father was."

He was referring to those efforts of his youth among farmers and labourers, his generous passions for the disinherited children of society. But nobody so subtle and tense and perceptive could really be called common, and his terrible fastidiousness (almost to the point of phobia) removes him from our rude herd. He really stands above us, a little wistfully, but above us. And when his instinct makes a decision for him it is as if some hidden electrical cord, connecting him with us, has galvanically operated in a way which his intellect, superior as always, cannot trust. Mahatma Gandhi was, I think, a common man—one of us—although a wondrous and immortal genius besides. The Mahatma never had any of the intellectual doubts that afflict Jawaharlal. Once his instinct had spoken, he was sure.

Now, of course, the instinct for right and wrong can itself be very wrong indeed. It is not a divining rod, or anyhow not an infallible one. We must remember that Adolf Hitler said, very sadly, on his entrance to the ruins of Warsaw: "How dreadful and how wicked of those Poles to force us to do this thing!" His sense of right and wrong made the victim guilty of the crime. He was, indeed, the supreme example of the instinct for right and wrong in irresistible command of a great people. He thought, very plainly and simply, that wrong was right, and convinced his neurotic people that this was the case because the German people could do no wrong no matter how atrociously they lacerated and destroyed others. Hitler was sanctimonious and virtuous to the last moment of his life; he had always chosen the right course, all others were wrong and were damned for a thousand years. (He always said "a thousand years", and I never knew what magic he attached to that particular number.)

Jawaharlal's sense of right and wrong, even though insistent and dominant, is not to be related, however remotely, to the racial mania of Hitler. He does not think he is right because he is an Indian, or because Indians are always right, or even because he is Jawaharlal Nehru. He thinks he is right because his nature imperatively declares, from time to time, that he must follow this course and no other. It is in this sense that I

find his fidelity to God, the Mahatma and India, and to all of us, an instinctive rather than an intellectual phenomenon. He does the right thing, in general, because he cannot help himself.

And, of course, the "right thing" may be almost infinitely debatable. It may, most assuredly, be the wrong thing when all is said and done, that is, after we are all dead. I have never had one moment's peace in my own mind about Kashmir from the very moment in October 1947, when Jawaharlal sent the first troops there. I know why he did it; he has told me in infinitesimal detail every single step of his reasoning and the sequence of his action. I know that for him it is right. This is essential; this is his central concern. But I do not rest on that subject. It gives me no repose or security of mind. It often seems to me a subject upon which everybody has hitherto been wrong and upon which some day a brighter light may be shed. I mention it now not because my doubts are of any weight but because it does show that there are subjects on which Jawaharlal's instinct may have deceived him—or on which I think he might conceivably be wrong. No man can be right about everything. If he ever begins to think so, he is irretrievably lost.

Our friend Jawaharlal has served this world most sweetly and purely when he has been least political. He has striven to bring opposites together. He has worked to make the lion lie with the lamb. When he has tried to formulate this endeavour into agreements, treaties and concrete formulae, circumventing fact as well as truth in order to give form to his aspiration, he has been least successful. One does not make a thing true by saying it is true. One may help to bring it into being—it is perfectly possible; most of our constitutions and our laws are aspirational more than actual. By prayer alone we may somehow make ourselves better. But the written documents by which (between 1953 and 1956) Jawaharlal endeavoured to formulate his desires or encode his aspirations are fully as obsolete as if they had been written a thousand years ago. He has never been at his best in these grandiose historical compositions, for which he has no talent. He is at his

incomparable best when he speaks ramblingly, with no beginning or middle or end, straight from the heart and in whatever words come to his mind. At such times there is no people on earth who can resist him, no statesman in existence who is fit to be compared.

How very strange it is that the Prime Minister of India should occupy such a place in the imagination and interest of the world! Of all the vast countries with pullulating populations, India is the latest comer; it has the least material power for menace to others; it has the least coherent policy or significance. What Aristotle called the "formulable essence" of a thing, as sight is the formulable essence of the eye, cannot be found in India. Aside from peace (which, like motherhood, is universally approved) India has no policy. It wavers and dawdles, many of us think, even in that sense of right and wrong which is its one avowed compass. What is one to say of Hungary in 1956? Is there any Indian now alive who can be proud of India's course at that time on any ground whatsoever or for whatever reason? I think not.

Yet with all its weaknesses and incoherencies, India has precipitated upon the world a perfectly valid leader in whom every person now existing recognizes a friend. It is Jawaharlal. There is not an Esquimau or a Hottentot who does not regard him as a friend. There is scarcely even an American or a Russian. His very tergiversations, those interminable consultations of himself which at some crucial moments (such as the outbreak of the Korean war) may consume forty-eight hours of the world's anguish, have contributed to this certainty that we all feel, that he wishes us well. We are willing to wait for him to make up his mind—a privilege we are reluctant to accord to any other head of a government on earth—because we know he is struggling honestly, sincerely, with all the power of a great soul, to reach the right decision. The others crackle and snap, or fizzle and dim, in accordance with their natures, but they all respond instantly: Jawaharlal thinks, feels, suffers, finds his way, and the whole world is willing to wait until he has done so. During the present century there is nothing at

all comparable to this phenomenon. Love and trust are very seldom extended by diverse and incompatible nations to those who stand apart from them.

Today, Jawaharlal holds all this in his hands, if he wants it, if it is worth having, if it is not already too late to do anything with it. His nature has a tendency towards happiness, so perhaps he can rejoice in so terrifying a tribute. ("I never sacrificed anything I really valued," he once said to me, speaking, I believe, of money and worldly advantages.) The withering orb lies in his palm and it is even possible, given the Himalaya of his optimism, that he may know what to do with it. Whether this is to be or not to be, he has already, up to this culminating moment, been faithful to God and India, to the Mahatma and to mankind. Our beloved India, in all her beauty and infinite sorrow, has once more, as so often in ages past, given to humanity at large a bearer of the torch. Jai Hind!

Verrier Elwin

For the Tribal Way

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S interest in the hill and forest people of India reflects, I think, very deep-rooted elements in his character and temperament. He has always been a lover of mountains; he grew up among them; he has turned to them for refreshment and strength at critical moments of his life; he has a special kinship with the Himalayas and has found enchantment in them, "a sense of vast spaces and something of eternity". Not long ago he spoke nostalgically of his adventures in Kulu and deplored the fact that today New Delhi "with its strange and rather unreal atmosphere and its multifarious occupations" held him prisoner, and he spoke with pity of "the unfortunate people who always live in the plains and know little of the joys and risks and dangers of the high mountains". He is specially attracted by the frontier — "I prefer the frontier, not only in a physical sense but because the idea of living near a frontier appeals to me intellectually" — and for an interesting reason. To be near a frontier prevents a man from becoming complacent.

Many of the tribal people live in the hills and they have some of the qualities of mountaineers — courage, a joy and zest in living, a disciplined and co-operative temperament, self-reliance, a certain hardness. These are Nehru's own qualities and he admires them in others.

There is a revealing passage in a speech that Nehru made at a tribal welfare conference a few years ago, in which he tells why he has always been so attracted by the tribal people.

It was not due to the curiosity an idle observer has for strange customs; "nor was it the attraction of the charitably disposed who want to do good to other people. I was attracted to them simply because I felt happy and at home with them. I like them without any desire to do them good or to have good done to me." How refreshing this is! In a world of do-gooders and uplifters, where a thousand busy-bodies are for ever trying to "improve" the "backward", Nehru is interested in the hill people simply because he likes them; he enjoys their company and is able to find a simple human relationship with them because there is no trace of superiority in his heart.

"I approached them", he has said, "in a spirit of comradeship and not like someone aloof who had come to look at them, examine them, weigh them, measure them and report about them or to try to make them conform to another way of life." And again — very important — "perhaps, I felt happy with these simple folk because the nomad in me found congenial soil in their company." Nowadays we have schemes to bring these nomads down from their loved hills and settle them in inappropriate urban buildings in the unfamiliar low-lands!

The first tribes Nehru met were the Gonds, Santals and Bhils and he has recorded how he was "attracted to them and liked them and had a feeling that we should help them to grow in their own way". Later, he came in touch with the tribal people of the Hill Districts of Assam, of Manipur, and of that "important and intriguing part of India", the North-East Frontier Agency. "My liking for them grew and with it came respect." In 1952 after a visit to eastern India, he declared: "What appealed to me about all these tribal people was not only their physique and health but that the men and women alike looked one in the face and were not afraid or inhibited. Altogether, they struck me as a fine lot of which any country can be proud." Every year he delights in the delegations that come from the tribal areas to the Republic Day celebrations in Delhi.

Nehru's attitude to the tribes reflects his general attitude to life; there must be no puritan and pious interference, no exploitation, no imposition. "I am alarmed", he has said,

"when I see—not only in this country but in other great countries too — how anxious people are to shape others according to their own image and likeness, and to impose on them their particular way of living. We are welcome to our own way of living, but why impose it on others?" There is no point in trying to make other people, and especially tribal people, "second-rate copies of ourselves". And Nehru suggests that this applies equally to the national and international fields: there would be more peace in the world if people were to desist from "imposing their way of living on other people and countries".

Now this goes, of course, very deep indeed; it strikes at the roots of that cultural and commercial imperialism which threatens to level down the whole world to one monotonous pattern, to impose a form of dress which is the ugliest and drabbest in human history, to spread through the radio a type of song and music which is slowly destroying the typical melodies of different nations, to control our choices through advertising, to govern our minds through propaganda. To Nehru, however, who has spoken of the rich and varied tapestry of India, the important thing is to let people be themselves, to keep them culturally free, free to create in their own style, free to think and worship and work as they will. "Many variegated streams of thought and culture meet together in India to form a mighty river of progress and advancement for her people"; this must be true for the tribes and for all men.

Another matter of universal application raised by Nehru in his speeches and writings about the tribal people concerns the relative values of "civilization" and "primitivism". It is the age-old conflict between the simple and the sophisticated, the country and the town, the free and the over-organized. To those who look down on the head-hunter as a ferocious savage, Nehru says that, while of course head-hunting must be checked, "it has struck me that some of their practices are perhaps less evil than those that prevail in our cities. It is often better to cut off a head than to crush and trample on a heart." In the tribal people, he says, "I have found many qualities which I miss in the people of the plains, cities and other parts of

India." Visiting Assam twenty years ago, Nehru was greeted by many tribal folk who brought "gracious gifts" of fruit and flowers and cloth woven by themselves, and "bright-eyed Naga children" gave him garlands. He describes how he felt "shamed and humbled before their clear gaze, full of faith and affection. What of the cities with their selfishness and intrigues and money-grabbing?"

Nehru constantly returns to this contrast. Of the NEFA tribes he said after his visit in 1952, "Some of them were undoubtedly rather primitive, but many were remarkably developed and advanced. Indeed, it is quite absurd to call them backward. An average crowd of some of these tribes would probably be more advanced in many ways than an average crowd elsewhere in India." The tribal people are virile; they are highly disciplined; they are often "a great deal more democratic than most others in India"; above all, they are a people who "sing and dance and try to enjoy life, not people who sit in stock exchanges, shout at each other and think themselves civilized". Nehru in fact once declared that he was quite sure that the tribal folk with their civilization of dance and song will last long after the stock exchanges have ceased to exist. Modern people have lost this spirit of "song and dance and the capacity for enjoyment". Life has become tepid; our songs are sung for us on the gramophone or radio; our dances are performed for us on the screen. "I am not at all sure", says Nehru, "which is the better way of living, the tribal or our own. In some respects I am quite certain theirs is better."

Our approach to these people, therefore, must be one of humility, affection and respect. We must be very cautious in trying to improve them. Change, of course, will come, as it is coming throughout the world, but let us see that it is for the better, not for the worse. Pointing out the disastrous effects of the "so-called European civilization" on tribal peoples in other parts of the world, "putting an end to their arts and crafts and their simple ways of living", Nehru has warned us that "now to some extent there is danger of the so-called Indian civilization

having this disastrous effect, if we do not check and apply it in the proper way". "We may well succeed in uprooting them from their way of life with its standards and discipline, and give them nothing in its place. We may make them feel ashamed of themselves and their own people and thus they may become thoroughly frustrated and unhappy." We must therefore be very careful to see that "in our well-meant efforts to improve them, we do not do them grievous injury". "It is just possible that in our enthusiasm for doing good, we may over-shoot the mark and do evil instead."

From this general attitude, there has come a humane and scientific policy of great significance. The Nehru policy for the tribes is so original and is so contrary to what is generally supposed to be the proper thing, to do, indeed, I am sorry to say, so different from what is actually being done today in many places throughout India that I will dwell on it for a moment.

It is essentially a policy of the middle way. It would not keep the tribes in picturesque but frustrated isolation; at the same time it would not assimilate them by destroying their own culture and overwhelming them with a technological superiority too rapidly introduced. It would, to use a phrase that has become famous, let them develop along the lines of their own tradition and genius. The problem of what to do with its past is one that confronts modern civilization throughout the world; there are some who, in sharp reaction, would destroy or ignore it; others, like T. S. Eliot, would say: "Our problem being to form the future, we can only form it on the materials of the past; we must use our heredity instead of denying it." Nehru's attitude to the past of India, as expressed in his books and speeches, has a bearing far beyond that of the tribes; it affects our entire attitude. India herself is today advancing in the fundamental spiritual values on the basis of her history.

So in dealing with the tribes, Nehru's policy is to let them grow naturally and to avoid forcing anything on them. There must be no uprooting, no drastic alienation from the old values. We should give them all we can, roads, hospitals for better

health, schools for wider vision, improved agriculture for a richer physical life, but in a rather unobtrusive manner so that the good things of traditional life are not destroyed but are kindled and enriched.

Nehru has recently laid down five principles, within the framework of which all development of the tribal areas should proceed, and these are so typical of him, and illustrate his sensitivity and understanding so well that I will quote them. Here then is Nehru's Panchshila for the tribes:

1. People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them, but should rather try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.

2. Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected.

3. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development.

4. We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.

5. We should judge results not by statistics or the amount of money spent but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

These principles which, if intelligently and honestly applied in the tribal areas, would revolutionize the situation there, reveal several of Nehru's deepest interests — his love of art, even the shy simple art of ordinary folk; his respect for culture at all levels; his concern that the peasant should have a fair deal and be free of exploitation; the obvious, and so constantly forgotten, importance of giving the tribal people a full share in the government of their own areas, of establishing the fullest possible local autonomy in the true spirit of democracy.

The two final points are revolutionary — and almost completely ignored. We think that the more we tidy things up, the more we organize, the more officials and offices we have, the more progress we are making. Nehru stresses the importance of simplicity, especially in governing simple people. And

then nearly everybody judges the progress of a project by the amount of money spent on it. Look at any official report: there is always a primary emphasis on the proportion of money spent in relation to the amount sanctioned. Look at the masses of soulless statistics that pour out of the official printing presses. Nehru says these are less important than investment in man and that the standards by which we should judge progress are the intangible, imponderable values of the mind and spirit.

The adventure of service in the tribal areas is essentially one of the human spirit and the human approach. Material progress there must be and will be; there will be great changes; but the fundamental thing is that through all this change and progress there should be an ever-stronger integration with the rest of India, an ever-heightened consciousness of citizenship in the larger community, until finally there is achieved among the tribes as in the whole of India a "tolerant creative nationalism which, believing in itself and the genius of its people, takes full part in the establishment of an international order".

Mulk Raj Anand

Intellect in Action

THE CONCEPT of the philosopher-statesman has often been mooted in history.

In Indian and Chinese thought, as well as in early Greek thought, the subject was discussed at length, because among these civilizations, the values of the intellect took precedence over the mere exigencies of social and political organisation. The thoughts of Chanakya and of Plato about the necessity of the thinker-politician, however, reveal the fact that, at the time of the formation of the city states, both in Asia and in Europe, classes other than the intellectuals, specially the soldiers and the merchants, were already making strong bids for power.

Through the days of the Roman Empire, and the later European renaissance and reformation, the debate continued, but the intellectuals were on the losing side, being merely the spokesmen of the feudal princes of the Church and not the arbiters of the destinies of men.

By the end of the nineteenth century, there remained only the memories of the recommendation of Plato and of the greatness of Marcus Aurelius; and the intellectual came to be recognised, mainly, as a critic of the existing social order, be he Voltaire or Diedrot, or Goethe or Michelet, or Marx. Since then he has seldom been thought of as a possible ruler. Certainly, the theoreticians of the French and American revolutions exercised tremendous influence, but they were mostly hunted individuals, like Tom Paine, who were always in difficulties with their domiciles and their passports.

While it is true that Disraeli and Gladstone and Asquith could quote Latin and appreciate the more obvious poetry, these three and many of the other dominating figures were first and foremost the representatives of the commercial English bourgeoisie and intellectuals only by accident. The specialism produced by the English industrial revolution has bifurcated the whole man, until a physicist does not know chemistry and a soldier is not supposed to do anything but obey orders and a poet shuns politics like the plague.

Only in the East, in the transitional period from a feudal society to the modern, does the intellectual seem to assert himself, especially in the countries where the struggle against the alien European imperialists has been intense.

For instance, the Indian nationalist movement was consistently led by liberal intellectuals and lawyer-politicians. There is a whole galaxy of men who come to mind, but the names of Surendranath Banerjee, Aurobindo Ghosh, Srinivasa Sastri, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Lajpat Rai, Sarojini Naidu and Gandhi are familiar legends in our country. In China, from Sun Yat-sen to Mao Tse-tung, Li Shao-chi and Luo Mo-jo, the tradition of the intellectual ruler also seems firmly rooted; while in Russia, which is Eurasia, from the head of the revolution, Lenin, downwards, the respect for the theoretician has been sustained.

I think there are very deep reasons for the pre-eminent positions enjoyed by the intellectual in the new world of Asia and Africa. And while I do not wish to analyse here all those factors which may have led to the emphasis on the role of the intelligentsia in the liberation struggles which are now taking place in the colonies and semi-colonies of the European imperialist powers, I want to analyse two or three factors which seem to me to make the position of Jawaharlal Nehru as a thinker-politician important in the history of our country and, perhaps, of the world.

There are many strands in the temperament, character and intellectual calibre of Nehru derived from India and Europe, which make his personality rather more like a rich tapestry

than like the home-spun fabric which many of his more simple followers imagine him to be. As the weaver of the tapestry happens to be Jawaharlal himself, and the bobbins are moved from one colour to the other inside him, the onlookers can only admire the cloth and make wild guesses about the inner links in the confusion from which the synthesis of Asia and Europe is arrived at in his being so that any objective knowledge about the criss-cross of events and ideas through which he has become what he is today is extremely difficult.

Of course, there is the evidence of his opus: *Glimpses of World History*, *Autobiography* and *Discovery of India*, apart from the occasional essays. But the individual, in spite of much subjectivism, is so completely merged in events that in many ways the personality of the author of these books cannot be separated from the history of the years which he describes.

All the three major books mentioned above are basically historical in their approach.

It is curious how a man trained as a scientist and as a lawyer felt the compulsion to write history. Beyond the mere excuse of teaching his daughter a few things about the world from the inside of a jail, there was, it seems, from the comprehensive attitude embodied in *Glimpses of World History*, a more profound motive for looking at world developments. If one may speculate about this motive, on the basis of some of the utterances embodied in the book, there was obviously the desire to see the world from the point of view of an oppressed Asian subject of the British Empire in the 20th century, the heir to all the historical centuries. The passionate creative passages in this book are compelled from the intense and actual suffering of the victim of imperialism. Certainly, this book is in no sense like the fashionable *Outlines of World History*, written a few years earlier, by H. G. Wells. For, while Wells in spite of his encyclopaedic knowledge about human affairs resorted to the spell-binding approach to history, treating each great individual figure as a sensational expression of some inexplicable force, Nehru was more modest. He seems simply to have accepted, beyond his early Fabianism, the quintessence of Marx's view

of history, that is to say, economic determinism. I do not think Jawaharlal Nehru subscribes to all the tenets of Karl Marx. But, like most socialist intellectuals of his age, he appears to accept the theory that means of production change consciousness as a fair yardstick for judging the major movements of history. In this way, he is able to enrich the tentative though uncannily prophetic utterances of Marx in the letters about India written to the *New York Herald Tribune* in 1853, with concrete illustrations drawn from the actual happenings on the Asian landscape, specially in the period of European domination from the 16th century onwards. I believe that the prisoner in the little jail in Uttar Pradesh was also seeking, through the writing of history, to integrate his own personality with the events of the past of India as well as into the events which were shaping her present and her future. The man of action was nearly in abeyance, while the writer was piling up the enormous tome. Soon he would get out of prison and would have to work out the terms of the manifesto he was drawing up.

The organic integration which Gandhi had already achieved between the man of ideas and the man of action was being worked out by Jawaharlal Nehru at this time.

During a second long period in jail, he was to take this method of integration of his personality far deeper. Ostensibly, the more impersonal *Glimpses of World History* had left room for a much more intimate acquaintance with the historical process. So, he seems to have adopted his own life as an experiment in history-making and written the famous *Autobiography*. Actually the publisher's commission was for a history of the Indian national movement, but Jawaharlal produced the confirmation of his own individual testimony to the most important events of India's struggle for freedom. As in the previous impersonal history, so in this personal one, the cue for passion seems to have come from the contemplation of the fiery, bitter, arduous and difficult struggles in which the hero had taken part. And, like some other books written in jail, the *Autobiography* seems to have become charged with a great depth and tenderness peculiar to prison books. In fact, some of the pages read

like Dostoviesky's *House of the Dead.* There is even an element of chastity as in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress.* The sense of humanity which pervades the book, the *naïveté* of the emergent Indian-English style of writing, the awareness of the poetry of human life, already show the future visionary to whom action is not merely political opportunism but compulsion from the innermost depths of feelings and ideas. I think one can safely say that if Jawaharlal Nehru had not written the *Autobiography*, he would certainly never have achieved the dignity and status of a world statesman long before he was to become Prime Minister of India.

The third major book, *Discovery of India*, written during his confinement in Ahmednagar Fort in the war years, takes the process of self-analysis somewhat further. There is here an attempt to understand the whole of India's past in order to integrate himself with the awareness of patterns which as a socialist he had not sympathised with earlier. The attempt is not altogether successful. Because, while the historian in Nehru is able to marshall an enormous amount of data, his powers of generalisation, specially in dealing with philosophical principles of the more introvert Vedantist kind, are less acute. Perhaps, this lack follows from an essential absence of sympathy with the god-intoxicated mind. The scientist in him seems not to give assent to mysticism, though he feels the pressures of the past heritage in which so many sages acquiesced in the intuitive test. He does not apply the Marxist yardstick of history consistently anymore; and, for lack of exact data, fails to analyse the decay of the various phases of Indian feudalism as the determining cause of the supremacy of the orthodox Hindu Dharmashastras. Nor does he seem to know the doctrines of Indian thought besides the main Vedantist tradition, i.e., the materialist systems or the humanist teachings of mediaeval saints, intimately. And yet he seems also to lay himself open to the accusation of the orthodox philosophers that he does not know, or sympathise with, the greatest truths of Indian religions. The *Discovery of India* was thus to remain the essay of an eclectic, trying to understand the spiritual basis of

India's past. The residuum was not a coherent body of doctrines or a system of philosophy, but a vague belief in "spiritual feelings" as a kind of balance against his earlier emphasis on science. But it was a good preparation for accepting the responsibility of both the past and the present of India in the new role which was to come to him as the head of the Indian State, because the book showed the necessity of belief as the basis of action. Actually, the message which comes through clearly from this book is not conditioned by the highest spiritual experiences, but only makes the author out to be a person capable of self-criticism and introspection. Jawaharlal Nehru ends up by emphasising the need for social reform. He wishes intensely to remove all those features of Hindu religion which have made Indian society the vehicle of torment and suppression. He desires political freedom and protests against the denial of elementary human rights to the millions. He contemplates the awful position to which woman has been reduced and seeks to usher in better conditions for labour. He is aware of the perniciousness of caste and aligns himself with the programme for the abolition of untouchability in all its forms.

I would like to contend that to Jawaharlal Nehru, the books were important manifestoes for future action. He has never been a pure intellectual, but one who accepted "engagement" openly. And I believe that this eminent intellectual of India belongs, like most significant thinkers of this country, to a category symbolised by the personality of Gandhi, which is not frequently noticeable in the West — of men who wish to integrate ideas and acts and to become examples in consequence.

Many of the contemporary European intellectuals seem unconcerned, after they have put down their ideas in books, with the incidences of these ideas in action. Bertrand Russell, for instance, has written fifty or more books, full of the most profound and subtle analysis, and very few of the small coteries of academic philosophers in the universities can have remained uninfluenced by his ideas. But, as for the general mass of the literate peoples of the British Isles and America,

it could be said, with a fair degree of certainty, that they remain ignorant even of his name not to speak of his doctrines. For, only once or twice in his life has he acted upon an idea which he has propounded in a book: once in 1914 he went to jail as a pacifist in the First World War; and in the twenties he was censured for his belief in free love.

In fact, as C. P. Snow has recently pointed out, the seeming decay of the West springs not only from this lack of co-ordination in individuals of all their potentialities but from their refusal to see the whole men. The literary men despise or ignore science, and the scientists do not care very often for literary culture. And they all turn away from the great scientific revolution proceeding particularly in the U.S.S.R., retreating like fascinated rabbits into their earth holes, nervous and exhausted and almost blind in their isolationism to the fate of other men than themselves.

On the other hand, Jawaharlal Nehru, following the tradition of the thinkers of India, in a practice confirmed, as I have said, throughout his life by Gandhi, has sought to integrate idea and act, and to become an example. If he believed that the British imperialist system of exploitation was inherently wrong and India's claim to freedom natural and just, he did not merely write about it like a don but came out of his donnishness, defied the alien authority and courted imprisonment. Thus, the belief in natural justice and human rights was not a mere academic idea but, as with his master, it was an idea to be integrated with the act of defiance from which he emerged as an example to millions of his own countrymen and others, even as Gandhi had become a symbol of non-violent struggles after Amritsar and particularly after the march to Dandi where he went to make illicit salt in contravention of the oppressive salt tax.

Apart from the attempt to build his character in this way, which forces us to redefine the word "intellectual", in its relation to Nehru, there is another quality which he symbolises in his personality and which may come to be considered later on as more important than his almost Buddha-like renunciation of

wealth and his integration of idea and act: this may be vaguely called his humanism. I do not think he has stated this doctrine consciously anywhere, or differentiated his particular kind of humanism from the Christian and other humanisms espoused in our time by several philosophers, like Maritain, Berdaev, Santayana or Sartre. For while the average European thinker has been on the defensive against the disintegration of European society through the pull of the cash-nexus, unbridled competition, insecurity, lack of faith, aggrandisement and other traits of a death culture, Jawaharlal Nehru had to bring forth more positive sympathies.

"For many months", he once wrote, "I wandered about India and millions of faces passed before my eyes. I saw a thousand facets of this country of mine in all their rich diversity, and yet always with the unifying impress of India upon them. I sought to understand what lay behind those millions of eyes that stared at me, what hopes and desires, what untold sorrow and misery unexpressed. Glimpses came to me that illumined my vision and made me realise the immensity of the problems of the hundreds of millions of our people."

The clever men of the cafes of London, Paris and New York may consider this a merely sentimental attitude. The cynicism of a civilisation which is still bound up with the increasing efforts of Western and American imperialists to promote the profit system by armament manufacture, colonialism and distribution of spheres of influence, is the opposite of that kind of faith in the future of men who have the responsibility of ushering the millions of Asia and Africa into a new age. And though Nehru does not lack cleverness, or incisive intelligence, he is not in the habit of attitudinising and posing like the little critics about the problems arising from suburbanism, such as boredom, isolation of the individual and loneliness in death. He is cast in a much more heroic mould, and his tenderness for men is much more reminiscent of the almost convalescent sensitiveness of the early Russians like Dostoviesky and Tolstoy than of Cyril Connolly, Stephen Spender or Raymond Aaron. One has only to look at Epstein's modelling of his head to

see the harrowing nature of his predicament on the sunken cheeks, relieved by the sad though uplooking, hopeful eyes.

The crisis which faces Nehru as a man of vision and as a man of action is probably the most acute that has ever faced him. And I am not sure that he has not tended to lose the balance of the twin sides of his nature, as thinker and statesman, in recent years. This balance had been always more difficult to attain in his case than in the personality of Gandhi, because the impress of English education on him had been more complete than in the case of the Mahatma. Always Hamletian before major events he derived his schizophrenia from the leisurely polite world of the Oudh Oblomov's. Obedience to the patriarchal image made for a constant reliance first on his own father, then on Gandhiji, and later on any older man of the right who happened to be about and who could control his radicalism. And the lack of firmness or ruthlessness, which Michael Brecher has noticed, followed inevitably.

Of course, he has tried to salvage his conscience by a series of vociferous loud thoughts, through which he has formulated his socialist pattern of society, his genuine love of peace and his consistent struggle to assert the values of decency and good neighbourliness between the nations in the poisoned atmosphere of the cold war. Occasionally, he feels like shouting from the housetops against the political injustices, the racialism and the hysteria which have fouled the air of the colonial world. But as his independent position is jeopardised by his refusal to create anything like a homogeneous party to cope with the internal Indian situation or to put his faith in younger men for the carrying out of his bold plans, I am sure he must feel in his heart the despairs of the undecided intellectual in the situations created for him by the practical politician inured to compromises.

To some extent, the conflict between the humanist theoriser of the Five-Year Plan of the socialist pattern of society seems, from his Azad Memorial Lecture, "India Today and Tomorrow", to have been already shaken by the pressures of the small-state-minded, lesser men who surround him in day-to-day politics.

In this illuminating address, in which he sought to relate the past and present of India, he gave a summary which puts the essence of the present situation in our country clearly before him and us. Three main issues appear clearly:

1. Religion, with all its implications in caste, and other social customs of the past *versus* science and technology;
2. Class conflicts;
3. Individual freedom and the delinquency of the modern centralised state.

I am afraid, for many of us who have thought on parallel lines with him and who have followed his example, the conclusions which Nehru drew on these three issues after his long discourse marked a retreat from his previous organic attitude which combined the thinker and the statesman.

For instance, he commended the Gandhian solution about caste, which was based on a quite different hypothesis from his own. He said that it is possible, as Gandhiji had thought, to abolish caste, not by attacking it directly, but by attacking its incidence in untouchability. He seemed to forget that Gandhiji believed in a supreme god like a good Sanatani Hindu and endorsed the doctrine: "Whatever may be the differences among religion and religious tenets, they are all united in this, that the highest truth of all is *Ahimsa*." Now, everyone who has followed Jawaharlal's thinking knows that he has never posited faith in the kind of god that Gandhiji believed in; and, throughout his active life, he has crusaded against casteism in the name of human values rather than admit compromises inevitable to a genuine belief in Hinduism, of which the social organism rests securely upon caste. It was very surprising, therefore, that he should adopt the Gandhian standpoint in this matter without really sharing it.

About class conflicts, he was equally disingenuous when he declared that the class war can be ended in our country by "peaceful" means. There is no doubt that in the last twelve years, the grace and wisdom of his mature, reasonable and humane temperament, has enabled him to launch the socialist Five-Year Plans by reconciling, by and large, the interests of a

centralised welfare state with early capitalism in India. The acceptance of the 60 per cent. public and 40 per cent. private sectors by the large majority of Indians, however, proved to be deceptive. The organised attack of the private enterprise forum and later the conservative Swatantra Party on many of Nehru's policies, and the insidious disbelief of many important members of his own party in the central concept of the socialist pattern, both in industry and on land, is surely too obvious a factor for him to ignore. The apparent peace between the classes may have been forced not by the miraculous change wrought in the Indian soul by his new theory of socialism but by the urgent need of production of goods in the national economy. Besides, Jawaharlal Nehru's own position, as the leader of the Indian people rather than merely as a leader of one party, made for a certain amount of reconciliation among the classes and the masses, all engaged in an economy which cannot, from its inner needs, be a *laissez-faire* capitalist economy of the 19th century British kind or of the 20th century American kind but a dominantly socialist economy if the peoples of India as a whole are to build India dynamically, together, and to survive on any plane of human existence. Actually, this dominantly socialist economy with its large capitalist sector may be forced by the interplay of rapid industrialisation towards full socialism sooner or later. Thus, the class conflict which is endemic has probably been postponed and not eliminated or outflanked. For, it is unlikely that even early capitalism which stands to gain for a generation from the socialist pattern will forgive Nehru for robbing it of the vast opportunities which its promotors had naively expected in the heyday of the national struggle. And they who had helped the liberation movement in the hope of a share of victory will hit back with rising fury, because they do not, as a newly emergent bourgeoisie, understand that the profit system is ultimately doomed in the changed world economic situation, where the most advanced capitalist states are already being forced to adopt state capitalism, if not to become welfare states. The thinker Jawaharlal Nehru of the days of the Lucknow

Congress Address has certainly seemed to yield before the politician face to face with bitter and angry opponents who can outvote him, if he does not admit compromises.

As far as the concept of personal freedom in the context of a socialist state is concerned, Nehru has had to ally himself, often, with a super bureaucracy, in spite of his near anarchist opinions. The only consolation we have is that as in a sensibility of the most humane order, he seems not to be unmindful of the influence of a mammoth all-embracing state on the life of the small peoples. Ultimately, he is aware that the atomisation of individuals, through illiteracy and the wild goose chase for mere material advancement, may make the Indians as much subject to the will of the centralised state, under pressure of radio, television and the other uniform mass media, which have increasingly tended to destroy the basis of human personality, as in the West. If he is unable to do very much about encouraging education and those forces which may create individuals, whose inner urge is towards balance and peace and calm rather than towards war, at least he does consistently preach non-violence and stands for the Panchshila, which, as a doctrine, strikes at the very root of the aggressive H-bomb states of the world with their death cultures.

Perhaps, the tilting of the balance of power on the side of the super-bombs, and increased rearmament, may ultimately force Nehru to live in a more permanent state of schizophrenia even in the world of diplomacy and external affairs as he lives now on the domestic plane as a politician of India today. Or, maybe, that out of the material weakness of India and her complete lack of adequate defence, her leader may be strengthened in the conviction that world peace is a primary value for our people and the world. And out of this weakness may also arise the courage to make him question the concepts of power and glory on which the colonial systems still feed their insensate lusts and greeds. All men of the age of tomorrow, however, face the same choice. Only some like Jawaharlal will also have to take certain decisions.

K. N. Katju

At the Bar

Jawaharlal Nehru was called to the bar in England in the summer of 1912, came home later in the winter, and in 1913 joined the Allahabad High Court Bar. He remained at the bar for six years and then abandoned the profession under the stress of political and emotional excitement caused by the tragedies of Jalianwala Bagh happening.

I was practising at the Allahabad High Court Bar at that time, having joined it in 1914, and had thus the privilege and pleasure of working for five years along with Jawaharlal at the same bar.

References by Jawaharlal in his *Autobiography* to the lawyer's life are somewhat unceremonious and rather harsh. He did not take kindly to the profession. At one place he says, "But gradually the life I led, in common with most others of my kind, began to lose all its freshness and I felt that I was being engulfed in a dull routine of a pointless and futile existence." And then again, "For the rest there was the Bar Library and the club and the same people were to be found in both, discussing the same old topics usually connected with the legal profession, over and over again. Decidedly the atmosphere was not intellectually stimulating and a sense of the utter insipidity of life grew upon me."

A lawyers' life is surely not so dull nor so unexciting as it struck Jawaharlal at the time. It is true that in those great days, 1916 to 1919, we were on the eve of great happenings, new horizons were opening, Indian politics was taking a new

turn, revolutionary activities were causing ferment in many minds, and so also the appeal to socialism was making its impact on our intellectuals. And then came Gandhiji with his satyagraha and his call to direct action in Champaran in 1916 — awakening the masses of India. In a way, all this is not congenial to the life of a lawyer engaged in the exacting routine of his profession. Instinctively he likes to abide by the law and to inculcate obedience to the law, and to see to it that it is properly enforced and administered.

A practising lawyer can never be an efficient advocate of direct action and of open defiance of law. In our national movement, many lawyers have played a prominent part, but wherever any lawyer has done so, he has relinquished his legal practice and has retired permanently or for a long period from the profession. The two courses of action seem to be so inconsistent. Gandhiji himself was a leading advocate in his time; so were Motilal Nehru, Chittaranjan Das and many others and they all came out. One can appreciate why the legal profession did not appeal to a man of Jawaharlal's temperament. This was not, however, the fault of the Allahabad High Court Bar. That bar has filled a great place in the national life of India, and particularly of Uttar Pradesh. Not only have its members been jurists of great learning and advocates of great eminence and repute, but leaders of the national movement in their times. Among such lawyers one can recount the names of Pandit Ajudhyanath, the father of one of our leading Parliamentarians, Hridayanath Kunzru, who was one of the foremost Congressmen of his time; Madan Mohan Malviya who was all his life a great Congressman and dominated all public activities and was the founder of the Banaras Hindu University; and his close associate Pandit Sunderlal. There were also Satish Chandra Banerji and Tej Bahadur Sapru and, shall I add, Jawaharlal's father, Motilal Nehru, whose name shall ever be remembered not only for his leadership of the Congress in very difficult and trying times but for his wonderful skill as an advocate. Had Jawaharlal remained in the profession he

would have become an additional link in this great chain of personalities of the Allahabad Bar in the U.P. for nearly a century.

In the few years of his association with the bar, it was not possible for Jawaharlal to build up any great independent practice of his own. Of the numerous cases in which he appeared, one that I particularly remember was the Lakhna case which excited as much public interest all over India, as did the Bhowal Sanyasi case in Bengal and the B. B. Singh-Bilasia case in Uttar Pradesh. In that the question raised was whether the plaintiff was really the son of Rao Balwant Singh as claimed to be, or was a supposititious one put forward by Rao Balwant Singh to spite his step-mother. The case lasted many years and ultimately went up to the Privy Council. The matter was eventually decided by medical examination in England of the lady who claimed to be the mother of the plaintiff by a medical board of lady doctors under the direct orders of their Lordships of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a course of action unheard of in the history of that august tribunal.

I worked with Jawaharlal in many cases but in one in which we were opposed to each other the story was so human and so amusing that it may be worth recording here. The case arose out of a family dispute in Kanpur. Three brothers — members of a joint family — owned house properties in common and they allowed their sister to occupy for over 40 years one of the houses because of her strained circumstances. The family property was later divided amongst the brothers. This particular house was allotted to one brother and on his death his widow succeeded to it. The two women quarrelled with each other and the owner asked the sister-in-law to vacate the house. The latter refused and thereupon followed a suit for possession. The sister-in-law had no answer but she didn't want to quit and claimed the house as her own by adverse possession. The District Judge found the plaintiff's case to be absolutely correct and held that the sister-in-law was living in the house as a favour by permission and ordered ejectment. That should have put an end to the matter, but the sister-in-law and her

son Narain Das were anxious to continue possession for as long as they possibly could. They asked me to file an appeal in the High Court. I hesitated a great deal but ultimately did so with Tej Bahadur Sapru as my senior. Jawaharlal's father Pandit Motilal had started his legal career in Kanpur also and many families knew him well. So did the owner of the house, and she approached him directly and engaged him to defend her.

In due course, the appeal came up for final hearing before the Chief Justice, Sir Henry Richards, and Justice Rafique. It was one of the hottest days of 1917 and Allahabad is notorious for its hot weather. Both the judges came to the Court with rose water sprinkled on their head and on their face to keep themselves cool as used to be the fashion in Allahabad in those days. The advocates who sweltered at the bar were, however, not so lucky and could not afford the luxury either.

Motilal was at that time in Allahabad. Maybe he had some more urgent work at home, or on that day he had nothing else except to argue this wretched second appeal. He thought it was not necessary for him to attend the Court and he handed over the brief to Jawaharlal, I imagine, with the remark that "you will have just to sit in court and would not be called upon to argue." So, Jawaharlal was there as a brief-holder for his father. The court-room was crowded. My senior, Sapru, was sitting by my side; both of us knew that there was really nothing in the case. When it was called, I naturally expected Sapru to rise, but he turned to me and said "Kailash Nath, there is nothing in it. You get up and give it a decent burial." So, I got up and started the show. I only narrated the facts and repeated many times that the daughter and her family had been living in the house for more than 40 years and I added to reinforce the statement, "My Lords, Narain Das was actually born in this house." At that stage I noticed Sir Henry Richards dozing off; soon thereafter he put the paper-book on his face and was asleep. The brother judge noticed it also and as it would have been a scandal for both the judges to go off to sleep together, Justice Rafique, whom alone I could address at the time, put to me some

troublesome questions. I tried to answer them. Right at that time the paper-book on Sir Henry's face rustled a little. He suddenly woke up and in an attempt to show to everybody in the court that he was not in fact sleeping but was engrossed deeply in the case all the time, started reading the plaint in which in the array of parties Narain Das was stated to be 35 years of age. The last words uttered by me before his Lordship had gone to sleep were "My Lords, Narain Das was born in this house", and he, I noticed it, turned over the page again and then he suddenly turned towards me and asked "Did you say that Narain Das was born in this house."

"Yes, my Lord, that is so."

Chief Justice: "But Narain Das is aged 35."

K. K.: "My Lord, that is exactly my point. The family has been in this house for the last 50 years and children and grandchildren have been born."

Chief Justice: "Absurd, absurd. Who appears on the other side."

Before I could attempt to add any word of my own in the way of any foolish reinforcement of my argument, Sapru tugged at my gown and whispered to me to sit down at once and I did so, and now Jawaharlal had to rise. Sir Henry Richards was a very masterful judge. I think he was the most intelligent judge that I have come across in India, but he was impatient and in his desire to do justice, as he saw it, he would surmount all sorts of obstacles. Jawaharlal, of course, began quietly by saying that there was a clear case of finding of fact by the District Judge on this question of possession which had started only as a favour. Sir Henry Richards remarked most decisively, "Yes, I know, I know; this is a finding of fact and we cannot interfere with it but let me tell you this is an absolutely perverse finding of fact. The plaintiff has no justice on her side." Sir Henry went on like this for some time and then he suddenly said, "But you are a woman, how do you come into the picture." Jawaharlal referred to the partition among the three brothers and his client having inherited the house from her husband. But the Chief Justice would have none of it.

"This is a joint family property. A Hindu woman cannot be a heir in a joint family. You have to prove partition among the brothers."

Thereupon, Jawaharlal quoted a sentence or two from the judgment of the District Judge. But Sir Henry was intractable.

"This is a mere casual observation; this is not a finding. Show me where you have suggested it in your pleading as to how you got it. What is the evidence of partition?"

Jawaharlal then argued that this point had never been denied by the defendants and if their Lordships thought that it has not been put in the proper order, then the case might be remitted to the lower court for a proper decision upon it.

Sir Henry would not listen and said again warmly, "This is not a case in which the court should assist you in any way in the slightest degree. It was your business to put this allegation in the proper manner in your plaint, to have an issue raised about it and to prove it. We won't send in an issue down at this stage."

Jawaharlal struggled valiantly for over an hour. But who could struggle against such a judicial onslaught? Jawaharlal could not stand it. Nor even Mr. Justice Rafique, who remained dumbfounded. Judgment was delivered then and there; the appeal was allowed and the suit dismissed with costs.

One can imagine the furore caused in Kanpur and the great loss of face the old woman had to suffer. She came running to "Anand Bhawan" again and wept and shed tears and Motilal for once adopted what was for him a most unusual course of filing an application for review of judgment. He took care to be present in the court personally at the hearing. At that time I was also present as an interested listener. When the application was called, Motilal got up and as soon as he had stated the facts briefly and was beginning to start an argument, Sir Henry grinned broadly and burst forth "Pandit, I remember this case very well and Jawaharlal argued it excellently, and right or wrong, we will not have cases re-argued in this court. Application dismissed. Call the next case." He said it all with such good humour and so quickly that even Motilal

could not help laughing, so did all of us, and the judges too. Jawaharlal was not present in the court and I wonder whether he remembers the case at all.

His last appearance as an advocate was indeed on a historic occasion. It was in 1945 in the Red Fort at Delhi at the time of the Indian National Army trials. I do not think there has ever been a single occasion in India during the British rule when there has been an assembly of such a galaxy of Indian talent so distinguished both at the bar and in public life as at that time. In the public estimation the I.N.A. represented the cause of freedom and to uphold that cause at the bar appeared at that trial Jawaharlal Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Bhulabhai Desai, Bakshi Tek Chand, Kanwar Duleep Singh, P. K. Sen, Asaf Ali and others. Even the counting of these names brings to mind vividly the memories of long lives spent in the service of the country on the national platform, on High Court benches, at the bar and in Legislative Assemblies. It fell to me also to be a humble member of that noble company and to share with them the ennobling and exhilarating experiences of those stirring days. Jawaharlal's appearance at this trial was not so much professional as a symbol of his identification with the national struggle for independence carried on under exceptionally difficult circumstances by a different set of people in different conditions; the I.N.A. was a part of that set. Jawaharlal's appearance at that historic trial was a fitting finale to his career at the bar.

I do not think we shall ever see him again clothed in those legal robes.

Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya

In the Service of Arts

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU's catholicity of taste and wide range of interests is too well known for reiteration. As he himself has admitted on many occasions, "I am interested in many things." He is also known for his love of beautiful objects. He has bemoaned several times the fact that people seem to be losing all idea of what beauty is and to surround themselves with and take pride in a lot of things that are anything but beautiful. "It is quite extraordinary how people are losing any real appreciation of beauty," he says. "I am not talking of India only but of many other countries too. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the modern age." He, therefore, appeals again and again to create, collect and preserve objects of beauty from the past and the present so that we may at least have good aesthetic standards by which to judge. He pleads also for the children in whom he has an abiding and passionate interest: "Even in a matter like children's toys, may I ask why they should be given horrible golliwogs as presents? Why not have beautiful things and why not train them in the appreciation of beauty from their childhood instead of giving them toys which are caricatures of what they see? Such toys may no doubt excite their curiosity, but at the same time make them insensitive to beauty." To him a museum is a place where people can come "to see for a while articles of beauty, even though they may not generally see them in their daily lives".

Nehru's interest in culture and particularly in arts is not merely subjective in that he is just satisfied in drawing pleasure

and interesting himself in these pursuits; it is also demonstrative. He likes to identify himself with such activities by public association. One, therefore, finds him burdening his programme by opening art exhibitions, lending his patronage to cultural shows, giving financial aid to dramatic activities and building theatres, arranging the visits and tours of foreign artistes in India and of Indian artistes abroad. His association and assistance along with Azad in the starting of the three National Academies for encouraging and helping literature, dance, drama, music, films, painting, sculpture and other plastic arts is now a matter of history. His heading the Sahitya Akademi in spite of his many other duties and responsibilities, is proof of his demonstrative identification with culture. Commenting on this fact he confessed, "Whether I am worthy of being there or not I do not know, but I am rather proud of being there because it is an honour to be the president of an organisation which includes in its fold the eminent writers of India in various languages." He made the inauguration of the Films Seminar organised by the Sangeet Natak Akademi a historic occasion by using this opportunity for enunciating his Government's national policy on the fine arts. This is what he stated, "As President of the Sahitya Akademi I may tell you quite frankly that I would not like the Prime Minister to interfere with my work. My point is that these creative arts must be allowed and encouraged to grow with as little interference as possible. It is only when they manifestly become a social menace or a social danger that the Government must move . . . as I have made clear I do not want too much governmental interference in artistic activities."

It is also not without significance that there is a part of the Prime Minister's Fund earmarked for aiding cultural activities which, however limited in size, has had a great psychological impact and served to raise the national status of art in this country. Its value has to be assessed outside of the monetary side. For, in a country where charity in terms of welfare activities carries the highest premium followed by that all-pervasive force in the shape of politics, it is absolutely necessary

that a personality like that of Nehru should pull his fullest weight in support of the arts and all forms of culture. This in a full measure has been accomplished by him. Equally significant has been his interest in getting the Children's Film Society initiated and in its progress. Nor can we overlook his unflagging absorption in the annual children's art competition organised by the cartoonist, Shankar. Writing in the first children's number of *Shankar's Weekly* he said, "What pleases me most of all is the great interest that children in distant countries have taken in this venture. I was surprised and delighted to visit an exhibition where hundreds of pictures and cartoons sent from all over the world were exhibited. As I looked at these pictures I thought of the vast army of children all over the world, outwardly different in many ways, speaking different languages, wearing different kinds of clothes, and yet so very like one another. If you bring them together, they play or quarrel. But even their quarrelling is some kind of play. They do not think of differences among themselves, differences of class or caste or colour or status. They are wiser than their fathers and mothers. As they grow up, unfortunately, their natural wisdom is eclipsed by the teaching and behaviour of their elders; they gradually forget that the essential thing is to be human and kind and playful and to make life richer for ourselves and others. We live in a wonderland that is full of beauty and charm and adventure. There is no end of the adventures we can have if only we seek them with our eyes open. So many people seem to go about their life's business with their eyes shut. Indeed, they object to other people keeping their eyes open. Unable to play themselves, they dislike the play of others." In other words this is what the International Children's Art Competition and the publication of the special children's number means to him.

But if we carefully scan Nehru's life, what strikes one is that it is not his association or identification with or his utterances on art and culture that is so fundamental as their very vital and positive influence on his entire mental and emotional make-up and their shaping his attitudes and approaches to life and its

manifold problems. One finds this very vividly portrayed in his expressions on and analysis of a large variety of matters. In his own personality as well as to millions of people in India and abroad, Nehru is India personified. His life has flowed, and been moulded, with the life of this vast country. As he himself reveals very characteristically, "During these years of thought and activity my mind has been full of India, trying to understand her and to analyse my own reactions to her. I went back to my childhood days and tried to remember what I felt like then, what vague shape this conception took in my growing mind and how it was moulded by fresh experience . . . what is this India that possessed me and beckoned continually . . . what is she apart from her physical and geographical aspects? . . . Does she represent anything vital now, apart from being the home of a vast number of human beings?" Then he confesses, "India was in my blood and there was much in her that instinctively thrilled me. And yet I approached her almost as an alien critic, full of dislike for the present as well as for many of the relics of the past that I saw. . . . But surely India could not have been what she undoubtedly was, and could not have continued a cultured existence for thousands of years, if she had not possessed something very vital and enduring, something that was worthwhile. What was this something? The Indus Civilization, according to Prof. Childe, represents a very perfect adjustment of human life to a specific environment that could only have resulted from years of patient effort and had endured to form the basis of modern Indian culture. An astonishing thing that any culture or civilization should have this continuity for five or six thousand years or more and not in a static unchanging sense, for India was changing and progressing all the time. She was coming into intimate contact with the Persians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Chinese, the Arabs, the Central Asians and the Mediterranean people. But though she influenced them and was influenced by them, her cultural basis was strong enough to endure. What was the secret of this strength? Where did it come from? . . . There seemed to me something unique

about the continuity of a cultural tradition through five thousand years of history, of invasion and upheaval, a tradition widespread among the masses and powerfully influencing them. That vision of five thousand years gave me a new perspective and the burden of the present seemed to grow lighter . . . . Even if we do not understand the mighty forces that are at work in the world, we must at least endeavour to understand what India is, and how this nation has developed its composite personality with its many facets and yet with an undying unity. No one section or community can lay claim to the sole possession of the mind and thought of India. Each part has contributed its share in making this country what it is. If we do not understand this basic fact we do not understand India at all . . . Whatever the word we may use, Indian or Hindi, for our cultural tradition we see in the past that the same inner urge towards synthesis, derived essentially from the Indian philosophers, was the dominant feature of Indian cultural and even racial development. Each incursion or foreign element was a challenge to this culture, but it was met successfully by a new synthesis and a process of absorption. This was also a process of rejuvenation and new blooms of culture arose out of it, the background and essential basis, however, remaining much the same." This may be taken as the essence of his philosophy which has determined and continues to determine his attitude to life. Characteristic of this is the following passage on the Rig Veda, perhaps the earliest book of mankind which Max Muller has called "the first word spoken by the Aryan man". Says Nehru: "In it we find the first outpourings of the human mind, the glow of poetry, the rapture at nature's loveliness and mystery. And in these early hymns there are the beginnings of the brave adventures made so long ago and recorded here, of those who seek to discover the significance of our world and of man's life within it . . . . India here sets out on a quest which she never ceased to follow."

But he has never been the acquiescent man to bow to what is there. He prefers to sift and weigh and then accept. The accepted word, belief or customs as such held no significance for him.

As he admits, "I have always hesitated to read books of religion. I know that some of them had powerfully influenced humanity and anything that could have done so must have some inherent power and virtue in it, some vital source of energy. The totalitarian claims made on their behalf did not appeal to me. But the sheer beauty of some of the passages would hold me. And then a phrase or a sentence would suddenly leap up and electrify me and make me feel the presence of the really great . . . I could not approach these books or any book as Holy Writ which must be accepted in their totality without challenge or demur. Indeed, this approach usually resulted in my mind being closed to what they contained. I was much more friendly and open to them when I could consider them as having been written by human beings, very wise and far-seeing but nevertheless ordinary mortals, and not incarnations or mouthpieces of divinity of whom I had no knowledge or surety whatever . . . what impresses and gives me hope is the growth of the mind and spirit of man, and not his being used as an agent to convey a message."

He reacted much the same way to mythology. Reminiscing over his early days he admits that these stories from the epics formed part of his first memories as told to him by his mother and other elders of his household : "There was for me both adventure and the fairy element in them. And then I used to be taken every year to the popular open-air performances when the Ramayana was enacted. In this way Indian mythology and old traditions crept into my mind and got mixed up with all manner of other creatures of the imagination. I do not think I ever attached very much importance to the stories as factually true. I even criticised the magical and supernatural element in them. As I grew up other pictures crowded into my mind : fairy stories, Indian, Arabic, European. These and many other filled my mind in strange confusion, but always there was the background of Indian mythology which I had imbibed in my earliest days . . . that influence is a good influence both culturally and ethically, and I would hate to destroy or throw away all the beauty and imaginative

symbolism that these stories and allegories contain. Most of these myths and stories are heroic in conception and teach adherence to truth and pledged word whatever the consequences, faithfulness unto death and even beyond, courage, good work and sacrifice for the common good." But this attitude of his was not negative and did not mean his shutting out all other aspects of this heritage of ours : "If people believed in the factual content of these stories, the whole thing was absurd and ridiculous. But as soon as one ceased believing in them, they appeared in a new light, a new beauty, a wonderful flowering of a richly endowed imagination, full of human lessons. Otherwise oppressed by this weight of belief, we would miss their beauty. Indian mythology is richer, vaster, very beautiful and full of meaning. I have often wondered what manner of men and women they were who gave shape to these bright dreams and lovely fancies and out of what gold mine of thought and imagination they dug them." So, whether fact or fiction, they had become to Nehru a living element in the lives of the people as they had in his. "If it was so with me, in spite of the diverse influences that worked on my mind, how much more must tradition work on the minds of others," he muses. They were to him levers that serve to pull them up from the drudgery and ugliness of everyday existence to higher realms, ever pointing towards the path of endeavour and right living, even though the ideal might be far off and difficult to reach. To him art is symbolised in terms of living thought and influence and its impact on the character of the people. Thus, he says, "I know nothing about art, Eastern or Western, and am not competent to say anything about it. I react to it as any untutored layman might do. Some painting or sculpture or building fills me with delight, or moves me and makes me feel a strange emotion." It is not some secret doctrine or esoteric knowledge that has kept India vital but a tender humanity, a varied and tolerant culture and a deep understanding of life and its mysterious ways. Her abundant vitality flows out from age to age in her magnificent literature and art, though we have only a small part of this with us and much lies hidden still

or has been destroyed by nature or man's vandalism. The Trimurti in the Elephanta Caves might well be the many-faced statue of India herself, powerful with compelling eyes, full of deep knowledge and understanding, looking down upon us. The Ajanta frescoes are full of tenderness and love of beauty and life, and yet always with a suspicion of something deeper, something beyond. "What is culture", Nehru asks and after outlining various facets of it, he answers, "To be dynamic and creative is the practical policy or higher view of culture . . . culture first of all is not loud, it is quiet, it is restrained, it is tolerant." He then goes on to bemoan the decay that has now set in in this country. "The search for the source of her (India's) deterioration is long and intricate," he admits. "The urge to live and endeavour becomes less, the creative spirit begins to fade and give place to the imitative . . . our houses have begun to be built with foreign taste, our shelves garnished with foreign ornaments, our opinions, our tastes, our faculties lean on and follow the past and the distant. The soul created the arts wherever they have flourished." To him the national culture had gradually taken shape and become dynamic and living through a remarkable capacity for synthesis and absorbing new elements. In later years it lost the dynamic quality, became static which led to weaknesses in all fields. He is never tired of stating that the static period in the life of the nation leads to the decay of the creative arts: "We have to face this crisis of the spirit in India even as we have to face great economic and political problems. . . . To fail to do so is to fail as a nation and lose even the virtues that we have possessed."

Humayun Kabir

Artist in Public Life

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S writings offer fresh and convincing proof that the quality of a writer is ultimately the quality of the man. An author may try to be objective, but the objects are what he sees. His background, character and training are private to him, and yet these determine the texture of his public world. However much he may try to suppress his personality, his efforts end only in expressing it. This is the inescapable law for all artists, regardless of whether they be poets or painters, musicians, sculptors or architects.

The essential fact about Nehru as a writer is that he has never recognized a barrier between thought and expression. For him, to think is to feel and to feel is to act in words or deeds. Such swiftness of response puzzles and at times irritates slower minds. Baffled by his sharpness of reaction, some call him short-tempered, others imperious. They fail to see that it is neither short temper nor imperiousness, but a manifestation of the artistic spirit, for with the artist, experience and expression are simultaneous.

Nehru's writings are characterised by directness and strength. There is a force and simplicity in his work which at first attracts and then retains the reader's admiration. It also indicates that there is no inner conflict or division in his mind. Whether it be an object of nature or an experience of man, it evokes in him a response charged with the full strength of his personality. Mountains attract him, sunsets haunt his memory, beautiful words and acts enrich his life. He writes about them all with

a delicacy and power that are the measure of the exquisite nature of his sensibility.

Artists have often been attracted to politics through indignation or sympathy. In the common man indignation against existing wrongs is dulled with the passage of time. The artist knows no such respite. Time and the growth of experience increase the intensity of his feelings, till they no longer let him rest in the world of his imagination. Sympathy with suffering leads to the same result. He can no longer remain in the shell of his personality but must, whether he likes it or not, march out to take his place on the battle-front. This has been Nehru's destiny, for his imagination would not let him rest till he had flung himself into the arena of politics.

Nehru became an active politician, but the artist in him refused to be suppressed. The practical man is concerned only with what immediately concerns him. Everywhere, and more especially in India, he is burdened with the weight of his own cares and sorrows. After meeting the demands of his own life, he has little energy left to enter into the sorrows and joys of others. With an artist it is different. The sorrows of imagination are as vivid to him as the sorrows experienced in his own person. He reacts to them as sharply as to the suffering he directly sees. It is the artist's sensitiveness to suffering and pain that makes Nehru respond to reports of human misery in far-off lands with the same intensity as in the case of his direct experience of misery in his immediate neighbourhood. They try to find an explanation by labelling him an internationalist. The simple truth, however, is that his approach to all problems of suffering is that of an artist.

Nehru's earliest work, *Letters from A Father to His Daughter,* is ostensibly the story of the formation and growth of the world. It would, however, be wrong to think of it as merely a manual of science for the young. The accounts of geology and biology are interspersed with touches of deep human feeling. The large movement of planetary life becomes in his hands something immediately related to our personal hopes and fears. The sorrows and joys of our life become in their turn integrated

in the larger life of the universe and attain a permanence beyond the mutations of time. The oscillation between the reactions of the individual and the processes of the universe never ends.

Glimpses of World History and, its sequel, *Discovery of India* reveal the same combination of acute aesthetic sensibility and broad interest in the affairs of man. *Glimpses of World History* describes the growth of human civilization in firm and sweeping strokes. The pageant of past ages lives before our eyes in a few bold touches. The canvas is broad but the writer himself is always there. Nor can we ever forget that the panorama of the world is his panorama. Not only so, but with a *naivete* that is disarming, Nehru stops in the midst of the most exciting of human adventures to tell us of his personal feelings, or, perhaps, of the blossoming of a single flower in the courtyard of his jail. All art is, in a sense, abstraction: it is reality mirrored in the frame of a personality. In Nehru's writings, an additional frame is often supplied by the limitations of his prison life.

Equal concern with the individual and the world, and the power of fusing the personal with the universal are evident also in his *Discovery of India*. The work is in fact as much a discovery of Nehru as a discovery of India. There is of course no contradiction between the two. The life of every individual is a focus in which the life of the entire universe is seen. In the case of the ordinary man, this perception is unconscious and blind. With an artist the perception is a conscious endeavour that gives meaning and purpose to all his work. T. S. Eliot has pointed out that any genuine work of art is not only influenced by all previous works of art, but in its own turn modifies them. The temporal law where effect succeeds cause thus seems to be violated in the world of art. Reflection will show that the paradox in Eliot's statement is only apparent. The work of art has its being in the mind of man. Our experience of a new work of art is conditioned by all that we have experienced before. Once experienced, it becomes an element in our being, and must influence our

feeling for even old values. Perception of a new work of art, therefore, alters our appreciation of all previous works of art. Nehru's *Discovery of India*, therefore, discovers at the same time the fascinating world of experience that is Nehru.

It is however his *Autobiography* that marks Nehru's highest achievement in the world of letters. At once lyrical and epic, it displays his manifold qualities as writer and man. The story of his own life is fused in the story of the nation and its struggle for freedom and liberty. The poignancy of the birth-pangs of a nation is matched by the poignancy of personal sorrow that broods over its pages. Sincerity, directness and vigour are in evidence on every page. His handling of a mass of facts has never been surer, nor his judgment of men and issues more objective. And yet the whole work is instinct with a searching of the spirit and a sense of quest.

As a story of India's national struggle, the *Autobiography* is unsurpassed. As a sympathetic study of the character of some of the men and women who shaped India's destiny in those fateful days, it has, perhaps, no equal. The character of his father, Pandit Motilal Nehru, dominates the whole account, so that the son's autobiography is at the same time the biography of the father. The massive intellect and masculinity of the father is, without set purpose or conscious endeavour, contrasted with the eager and emotional quality of the son. A feeling for the drama of life is matched by a sense of impending events and a deep insight into the motives of man. Nehru's feeling of reverence for Gandhi is known all over the world, but in his *Autobiography* Nehru has put even the Mahatma under the microscope.

The power of searching analysis into the mind of man tends to make an author introspective. The feeling for the broad movements of history encourages, on the other hand, an attitude of objectivity. When to this combination we add Nehru's sensitiveness to the change of seasons and the variations in light and colour, his deep joy in the sport of diminutive life, his awareness of the moods of evening and dawn, is it surprising that some should at times regret that in gaining

a great political leader, India perhaps lost a writer who could have been greater still?

We find in almost in all his writings a balance and sobriety that is characteristic of the scientific temper. He has always struggled to bring into his study of men and affairs the impersonal and objective attitude of science. His attempt to see the other side of the shield at one time led his critics to describe him as the Hamlet of Indian politics. Some, not all, regret the consequence on his public activities, but no one can deny that the result has been an unqualified gain so far as his writings are concerned. To the searching, critical and questing spirit of the essential man of science has been added the sweep of a poet's vision and the magnanimous imagination of a humanist.

With the *Autobiography*, Nehru has established for himself a permanent position in the world of letters. It expresses the manifold aspects of his rich personality, more adequately than perhaps anything else he has done. With the artist's sensitiveness to pain, he combines the fighter's indignation against wrong. Both aspects of his personality have full and satisfying expression in the *Autobiography*. His flaming words bring cheer to depressed minds. His voice rings through the darkness and brings a ray of hope to those in despair. His exquisite expression of the fleeting and evanescent feelings of the heart evokes a response in all sensitive minds. His passionate insistence on judging things rationally gives to his writing a quality of understanding and charity.

A Bunch of Old Letters deepens further the impression created by the *Autobiography*. This is a collection of letters written mostly to Nehru and some by him. The first letter dates back to as early as 1917 and the last was written to him in December 1948. There are letters which are purely political and others in which philosophical speculation and personal musings are inter-woven with the urge for social and economic action. It would not be unfair to say that these letters contain an epitome of Indian history of the last forty years or more. They confirm our idea of Nehru as the artist in public life, but they also

bring out one feature which was not so clear even in the *Autobiography*. People have at times tended to misjudge Nehru and describe him as a man of moods and impulses. Impulsive he often is, but these letters reveal that behind and underneath all these outbursts of momentary feeling, there is in him a deep and unchanging purpose which has swayed his thought and action since the beginning of his political life. Many have been attracted by his personal charm and the sparkle and brilliance of his conversation, but the strength of his will and the tenacity of his purpose have not always been fully realised. These letters help to explain not only why over forty years or more Nehru has often seemed to yield to stronger personalities but also why in the end it is his way of thinking and his philosophy of life that have prevailed.

A Bunch of Old Letters throws light on one aspect of Nehru's character which adds to the charm of his personality but may at times be a source of weakness in political action. Not only is he patient and persistent in the pursuit of values which really matter to him, but there is in his character a degree of forbearance and toleration which the casual observer is likely to miss. These letters reveal how strongly he differed at times from men with whom he worked. They also reveal that there was never from his side any suggestion that he would break away because of such differences. His attitude seems to be that he would like to co-operate for as long as co-operation is humanly possible. If then the relation is to cease, the initiative would come not from him but from those from whom he had differed.

A Bunch of Old Letters also confirms the impression that in spite of his great admiration for Gandhi, Nehru's world outlook is essentially different from that of Gandhi. In fact, his affinity is more with Tagore than with Gandhi. Tagore's attitude towards life was essentially aesthetic. Nehru is, perhaps, the artist in public life *par excellence*. Tagore combined with his deep emotional sensibilities a vigorous rationalism that made it easy for him to accept the values of modern Western life and culture. Nehru also has accepted the values

of the West without any mental reservation or conflict. Tagore believed in the development of the human spirit through manual work and art, but at the same time accepted freely and eagerly the freedom from drudgery which the machine has made possible. Nehru also seeks to combine in his vision of future India an economy where manual skill will be supported and enriched by the use of the machine to the largest possible extent. Like Tagore, Nehru is also an internationalist whose regard for India is the deeper because India has never shut out influences from abroad but welcomed many civilisations and many cultures to her ancient shores.

Mehr Chand Mahajan

A Pillar of Justice

FOR AN ACCURATE and fair appraisal of Jawaharlal Nehru's role in India's judiciary a glimpse at his past aristocratic upbringing in the house of a leading lawyer of India seems necessary. During the childhood of Jawaharlal, Motilal was at the height of his legal practice, and was one of the doyens of the Indian Bar. He took to politics much later in his life. Obviously the father's intention was to train his son to take his place at the bar, so that he could inherit his large and lucrative practice. For this purpose, Jawaharlal was sent to one of the best English public schools and one of the two most leading British Universities. He returned to India after having qualified as a Barrister-at-law from the Inner Temple and started his legal career in the chambers of his father and practised at the Allahabad High Court.

It is natural that all these factors, particularly his training in British institutions and his upbringing under the vigilant care of his father should have influenced young Nehru; and he could not but be impressed by the grandeur of the British judicial system and the respect in which the British held their judges and the pride they took in their fearless administration of justice. Some part of that system they had introduced in India also and to my mind this was one of their greatest gifts to us. From the beginning every effort was made by the British in India to build up an independent judiciary and despite adverse decisions given against them and their government in India even on matters of policy and in regard to executive orders, it must be said to their credit that they

held the judges in India in great esteem and kept up their dignity and prestige. In fact, during their rule in India in all official functions, the judges were always given a high and special place and in the order of precedence the judges were shown especial honour and courtesy. I am sorry to say that this is not the position now; and it has somewhat lowered the prestige of the judiciary in the eyes of the public.

Coming back to Nehru, it is well known that law gradually gave place to politics in his life. He wanted to free India from British domination; and that became his all-consuming passion. Nevertheless, for about eight years he worked at the bar and went through the ruffing which a junior lawyer is subjected to. By virtue of appearing as an advocate occasionally and crossing swords with stalwarts at the bar it is but natural that his young mind must have been impressed with the necessity of a fearless and independent judiciary in a democratic state, specially if justice in its true sense is to be administered between man and man, and man and State without fear or favour, ill-will or affection. Again, the rule of law is the foundation of a democratic state and this is not possible without the existence of a strong, fearless and independent judiciary. Early in life, by his contact with the members of the bar and his association with the judges, this realisation must have come to Nehru's mind. In fact, I saw his great respect for the judiciary when he appeared before me in the inquiry held in the R.I.N. Mutiny by a Commission especially constituted by the Government for the purpose and of which I was a member.

In August 1947, when India achieved freedom and Nehru became her first Prime Minister, he was responsible for the abolition of the Privy Council's jurisdiction in regard to Indian appeals, which was then the highest appellate tribunal for this country presided over by the Lord Chancellor and consisting of some very eminent Law Lords of England. Nehru also enlarged the jurisdiction of India's Federal Court not only by entrusting it with all the work which the Privy Council did before but with much larger powers. One of his very first acts as Prime Minister was to raise the status of the Federal

Court and to bring it on a par with that of the House of Lords and the Privy Council in the British Empire. In the Constituent Assembly also he displayed great regard for the independence of the judiciary and appointed some of the leading lawyers of India to draft the new Constitution, so that they may be able to bring not only a legalistic but a judicial approach to the task, especially in regard to the framing of fundamental rights. At that time the Federal Court consisted of only three judges; but two more judges were added to it — Mr. Justice Mukerjee and I — in order to cope with the additional work with which it was entrusted. In this connection, I would like to divulge something that happened at the time of my appointment as a judge of the Federal Court, as it throws some light on the role that Nehru from the beginning of his leadership of the Government tried to play in building up a free, fearless and independent judiciary in India. Though a senior Puisne Judge of the Punjab High Court, I had worked for some time in Kashmir as Prime Minister and thereafter gone to Bikaner as adviser. I was at that time out of touch with judicial work. However, I was recommended for a seat on the Federal Court in supersession of my Chief Justice, who happened to be a dear old friend of mine. He was also known personally to the Prime Minister and was in fact on very friendly terms with him. He, therefore, wanted Nehru to veto my appointment, but I know it as a fact that despite all the pressure that was brought upon the Prime Minister, he stood firm and advised the President to appoint me. I wonder how many persons there are in our country, who could remain unmoved under such circumstances, especially when the other person was not only a personal friend of his but the Chief Justice of a leading High Court.

In the making of the Constitution, Nehru has played no mean part; it is largely due to him that the judiciary has been given a very responsible position. There is the Supreme Court at the apex and then there are the autonomous State High Courts responsible for the administration of justice in their

respective States and possessing the powers of superintendence and appeal over subordinate courts. Furthermore, the Supreme Court and the various High Courts have been made guardians of the fundamental rights guaranteed to the people and they are invested with powers to declare void all such laws made either by Parliament or the State Legislatures, if these infringe any of those fundamental rights. These are indeed great powers and they do not exist even in the United Kingdom. Again, by Article 136 of the Constitution, the Supreme Court has been provided with extraordinary jurisdiction not found in any other country of the world, under which it can hear appeals against any order, decision or judgment of any court or even a tribunal in India. This is one of the safeguards against injustice and encroachment on people's rights, and shows the great trust that Nehru, as the prime architect of the Constitution, has reposed in our courts. In fact, I have no doubt that but for the active interest that the Prime Minister had taken in seeing that India had a judicial system worthy of a great democracy this would not have been possible.

With his early legal background, he realised that without a good and efficient judicial structure, democracy could not be made safe in India. He also saw to it that the judges were made irremovable by the executive and their emoluments were guaranteed by the Constitution. The superannuation age of the judges of the Supreme Court was also raised, so that after retirement they may not have to look for official patronage. The power of appointment of judges was also vested in the President, though it is true that the President exercises this power on the advice of the Prime Minister and the Home Minister in consultation with the Chief Justice of India. Viewed in the light of these limitations that Nehru has placed on the exercise of the powers of the executive one can appreciate the great role that he has played in building up an independent judiciary. After all, it is not often that one comes across a Prime Minister who is willing to subject some of his pet policies endorsed by a fully-elected Parliament to the scrutiny of five judges of the Supreme Court and give them the power

of overruling them. But Nehru is a true democrat and hence, he never felt any compunction in investing the Courts in India with as much power as it is necessary for them to exercise in a free and fearless manner.

True, some years after the enactment of the Constitution, he seemed to have recanted and wondered whether he had not given too much power to the judiciary. Personally, I am not inclined to believe that this change in his attitude came about because of his own thinking; I believe it was more due to the pressure brought on him by some of the senior members of his Cabinet. It is in that light that I view the amendment to Article 31 of the Constitution, but none the less it was a lapse on his part and showed a feeling of distrust in the judiciary, which he was not prepared to entrust with the task of adjudging the quantum of compensation payable for compulsory acquisition of property; he left it to the legislatures to decide. It was a lamentable departure from his earlier stand. His speeches in Parliament on that occasion showed that he was rather unsure of himself while doing this and that was why he gave a number of assurances.

To maintain the prestige and dignity of the judiciary, it is essential that appointments of the judges to the Supreme Court and High Courts are made purely on merit ignoring all other considerations. To Nehru's credit it must be said that he has all along resisted influences in making such appointments and has always acted in accordance with the advice of the Chief Justice of India, except perhaps in some very rare and exceptional circumstances. I know of instances when State Governments and politicians, who carried considerable pull with the Prime Minister, tried to influence him in appointing their nominees but Nehru always stood by the advice of the Chief Justice and made only such appointments as were approved by the latter. To my mind that is his greatest contribution in building up a judiciary that commands today the respect of all political parties and the public in India. From my personal experience of working with Nehru, I can say that he is incapable of being influenced

by his personal likes and dislikes in the discharge of his official duties. His appointment of judges is a shining example of this trait in his character. At the time when my predecessor on the Supreme Court reached his superannuation age, many highly-placed persons told me that it would be a miracle if the Prime Minister agreed to my appointment as the Chief Justice. They believed that some of my decisions were too opposed to the Government's policies and actions; and hence they said Nehru would not let go the opportunity of superseding me and appointing someone else in my place. He could have done so if he wanted to because it was not necessary to appoint a person as Chief Justice if he could not serve as such for even one year. But how wrong my informants were! More than two months before my appointment, the Home Minister gave a hint about my appointment to me and I am sure he could not have done it without knowing the mind of the Prime Minister.

Another great contribution made by Nehru is his attitude of complete non-interference with the work of the judiciary. It is well known that the executive does not miss an opportunity to influence the judiciary whenever it can, but the Prime Minister has never tried to do so. If he does not agree with any decision of the Supreme Court, he goes straight to Parliament with an amendment of the law in question or even the Constitution, which is a legitimate constitutional procedure; but he never tries to show disrespect to judicial decisions. I know that on some occasions, suggestions were made to him by some of his responsible Ministers to disregard some of our decisions; but on all such occasions the Prime Minister turned a deaf ear to them and told them that if they wanted to do any such thing they could do so at their own risk.

To maintain the prestige of courts, it is necessary that places where justice is administered should be built in a style which inspires awe and respect; that is why from the beginning Nehru was keen that the Supreme Court should be housed in a building befitting the dignity and prestige of

the highest judicial tribunal in the land. He is reported to have said that as people who visit Washington make it a point to see the Supreme Court building there, so also should people who come to New Delhi be keen on seeing the Supreme Court building and for that purpose he was determined to house it in a magnificent structure. He, therefore, rejected all proposals to locate the Supreme Court in some of the State houses in New Delhi or even the Radcliff House as was seriously suggested by some of his colleagues, and personally chose in consultation with the judges of the Supreme Court the present site where the Supreme Court has its new building. I know it because I happened to be the Chief Justice of India at that time. He also took considerable interest in the building of the Punjab High Court at Chandigarh and personally declared it open. Such is his sensitiveness about the places from where justice is administered and so particular is he about giving them a dignified appearance. Further, Nehru always makes it a point to be present at all important judicial functions and goes out of his way to show courtesy to the judges. In his speeches he refers to them with respect. True, in the matter of precedence at official functions he has not given to the judges the place that they deserve but there also I am sure it is not because of any lack of respect for them on his part, but due to powerful political influences with which he had to contend. In the beginning, the Chief Justice of India was placed No. 3 in the Order of Precedence, but later he was relegated to a lower position in order to accommodate the Vice-President. Similarly, the judges were placed below Cabinet ministers. The judges, no doubt, protested against it, albeit in their own dignified manner, to the President and despite the fact that the President's reply did not satisfy them, they accepted the lower position under protest; it was a rather small matter and persistence on the part of the judges would not have helped the cause of India. But at that time the feeling among the judges was strong and there was even a proposal to boycott all official functions; however, on second thoughts, they decided against it as it would not have looked proper. In certain

states High Court judges have not been shown even as much respect and they have, therefore, been reluctantly forced to boycott official functions. I hope the Prime Minister will reconsider his Government's decision in this matter and see that judges are shown due respect, in any case no less than what was shown to them at official functions by the British.

Recently, Nehru came in for a good deal of criticism for the casual remarks that he had made at a press conference in regard to the findings of the Bose Commission, which opined that perhaps the loans given to Mundhra by the Life Insurance Corporation were prompted by the former's munificent donations to Congress funds. These remarks, it was stated, affected adversely the prestige of the judiciary. Personally, I feel that this was one of those occasions when the Prime Minister forgot himself and indulged in his well-known temper. Undoubtedly, he was very angry with that finding as it sought to cast a serious aspersion on the party of which he is the leader. But what he said in anger should not have been taken so seriously. Mr. Justice Bose himself laughed at it; he knew that he could not suddenly become unintelligent and lose that quality which God had gifted him with, by an utterance of the Prime Minister. I know Mr. Justice Bose extremely well. He was one of my colleagues on the Supreme Court and I always found him one of the brightest and most intelligent of judges. Hence, I do not think that the judiciary suffered the least damage by such a remark of the Prime Minister, but Nehru rose to his full stature as a statesman and gave one more proof of his respect for the judiciary when he apologised in unequivocal terms to not only Mr. Justice Bose for his remarks but the Chief Justice of India for this lapse. How many Prime Ministers in the world would have shown such courage and so humbly swallowed their own words?

K. G. Saiyidain

The Ideal Educationist

I HAVE sometimes speculated what some of our leaders — Gandhiji, Nehru, Azad, Rajendra Prasad, Sarojini Naidu and Rajagopalachari — would have done if the national movement had not sucked them into its orbit. Knowing something of the quality of their mind and their basic interests, I have the feeling that many of them would have chosen some creative work in education, culture, literature, philosophy or the "things of the mind" in general. But, given the objective situation in which they found themselves and their sensitiveness to social injustice and political slavery, they could not but throw some of their basic urges into the background and respond to the call of the country.

There is one acid test for the quality and integrity of a personality enmeshed in a compelling political movement. In its overwhelming preoccupation with the imperative demands of a practical situation, does it retain its attachment to some of the basic values on which it has been nourished and which it holds in esteem? Or, is it carried away in the swift flood of events, unable to resist the pressure of external forces? It is the good fortune of India that some of her finest leaders, who guided her to the goal of freedom, did not loosen their hold on basic values even when they were buffeted between the market-place and the jail and, what is perhaps even more creditable, when they rose to positions of power and authority. They fought for freedom not because they were hungering for power but because they believed that, without freedom, they

could not bring "the good life" of their dream within the reach of their fellow men and women. The best of them always functioned, to some extent, as "teachers" — that is, as persons interested in values, in cultural matters, in the idea of slow and steady fulfilment of individual promise and in the creation of an environment favourable to growth. In some ways, Nehru's basic role has been that of a teacher of his people. He has certainly led the country, under Gandhiji's inspiring umbrella, to freedom. But his deep concern throughout has been to educate his countrymen in right values and attitudes. This interest is not confined to education in the institutional sense. It is deeper. It arises from his view of the ideals which should inspire life, his understanding of what culture means, his assessment of India's past and present, and his vision of the destiny she should strive for. It takes its direction from his appraisal of the new forces developing in the world today. His view of education is rooted in his view of life.

Nehru's is essentially a modern mind — scientific, objective, receptive to truth, impatient of obscurantism. His enthusiasm for scientific education, technological institutes and national laboratories, his frank, child-like pleasure at the development of great power projects, stem from two fundamentals — firstly, using science as an instrument for raising the people's standard of living and for providing them with full and equal opportunities for growth, for, "we cannot expect any high flights of culture where the primary needs of mankind are not satisfied"; secondly, making science teaching contribute to the cultivation of a scientific outlook or temper, which is more important than acquiring scientific knowledge or its application. He has defined it in various arresting terms in his speeches and writings. He rejects the arrogance of science which claims possession of the whole truth but feels that the basic purpose of science is not to improve the conditions of industrial life, important as it is, but to "teach us to think straight, to act straight, and not to be afraid of discarding anything or accepting anything unless there are sufficient reasons for doing so".

It is clear that Nehru seeks to build a bridge between science and moral values. Like other clear-sighted thinkers, he knows that science and technology are not enough. He sees that much of our technological progress has led to disaster, which can only be averted if we can develop the "spiritual element" in life. Without it, the life of the individual as well as the community will lack true "restraint", which is based not on fear or force but on a sensitive appreciation of, and attachment to, moral and spiritual values. According to him, these values are tolerance, compassion and a relentless search for truth and not a claim to its monopoly which narrows the mind but a readiness to welcome light from whatever source it may come, and to appreciate the viewpoint of others. Any system of education which fails to develop tolerance or devotion to truth even against one's own interest and conviction or a readiness to understand is defective. This accounts for Nehru's deep appreciation of Tagore's theory of education which sought to exclude all narrowness but provide the widest possible cultural background for students. Hence also, Nehru's devotion to Gandhiji's approach to life which is enshrined in Broadcasting House, New Delhi: "I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the culture of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible, but I refuse to be blown off my feet by any of them. Mine is not a religion of the prison house. It has room for the least among God's creations but it is proof against insolent pride of race, religion and colour."

His emphasis throughout is that education must not merely provide efficient training in skills and knowledge but also enrich men and women with wisdom and humanism. This implies an integrated view of life and consequently of education—a view which will balance the claims of the body and the mind, the individual and the community, the material and the ideal. He reminds us that there is "a certain element of divinity" in the individual as well as the group which, in our obsession with material and technological advance, we are apt to forget. So, the thing tends to

become the centre of our interest rather than the man, which is unfortunate.

Nehru's essential preoccupation is with what he has variously called the crisis of the spirit or the crisis of man or the collapse of human conscience — something which is happening the world over. This is the basic disease which education must eradicate. He warned the UNESCO delegates in 1956 that, if we do not pay heed to it, our fine ideals and good work "will be shattered into nothingness". All our knowledge and experience and technology put together do not necessarily represent a growth in the wisdom of the human race because they have not resulted in the adoption of the right approach to life. He is convinced that this right approach is the frank, friendly and understanding approach, which must evoke the right response in others. He views with alarm the spirit of hatred and suspicion, of denial and destruction, which is sweeping over the age, embittering relations at all levels. Over it hangs the symbol of the atom bomb, which conditions man's thinking and actions as well as his fears and prejudices. Where is the creative force which can redeem the world from its tragic doom, whose tragedy lies in the fact that it need not be so? Nehru feels that it is through education, science and culture that we can impinge fruitfully and constructively on this situation: "They are the only means for us to forge ahead and understand and solve these problems."

He expects all educational institutions to discharge this sacred duty, from the university to the primary school. His insistence on right objectives and values — which are certainly intellectual but go beyond the intellect — characterises his approach to education at all stages. Moving a resolution on education at the Avadi Congress in 1955, he welcomed the development of the system of basic education and the proposed reorganisation of secondary education. Why? Because society needs trained human beings, whose character is well developed and who have certain essential elements of culture, including noble and generous aspirations; they should also have the capacity to do things with their hands: "You can take it from

me that if your hands can do things your mind will work more satisfactorily." But even that is not enough: "It will not profit a man very much if he is clever with his hands or even with his tongue and brain but has no foundation of character or wider vision." Nehru is anxious to raise the whole quality of his people at all levels. He is something of a perfectionist as every educationist should be. It is the duty of the State, he asserts, to provide good education for every child in the country.

Nehru is deeply interested in the general question of culture and worried about the cultural crisis in India in which the old and the new, the static and the dynamic, struggle for supremacy. He has, however, the vision to see the place of both in a growing pattern. Rooted in the soil but drawing sustenance from all sources and essentially inclusive — for, exclusiveness is a denial of culture, repugnant to its true spirit. He made this important point at a convocation of Saugor University: "Nothing is more advantageous and more creditable than a rich heritage but nothing is more dangerous than to sit back and live on that heritage. A nation cannot prosper if it merely imitates its ancestors. What builds a nation is creative, inventive and vital activity." Nehru believes that is only the "creative mind" which can solve the crisis of the human spirit, provided it has social sensitiveness and is illumined by the values of charity, compassion and human understanding. But he knows that the modern age does not, unfortunately, provide a favourable environment for the purpose : "the noise and din and the machinery of advertisement prevent men from thinking." That is why, according to him, the present-day world is getting out of tune with the life of the mind and the spirit. While in specialized domains of science and technology and knowledge in general, the mind is active and dominant, it does not play its proper role in controlling human aims and purposes. For Nehru one of the important problems of education is to restore the supremacy of the mind and spirit in life, which is being threatened, curiously, by some of the most magnificent material creations of the mind itself!

Nehru is primarily interested not in expensive structures but in people, and is anxious that our resources should be spent on the educational process, on teachers and children, rather than on bricks and mortar. He has been stressing the need for economy in buildings, and, in our present economic situation, one can see the justification. But what he really dislikes is pretentiousness, artificiality, heaviness of ornamentation, which are bad even when funds are not limited. In fact, Nehru has a deep and quiet sense of beauty which one notices in his life, his home, his office, in his interest in all things of beauty. Speaking at a museum function, he said, "I should like to see the whole country dotted with museums. Every child of India should see something of these artistic treasures, should understand something of what has gone to build up India, should assimilate even in a small measure the genius of India." For such a man, a pattern of education which leaves out the gracious element of beauty is as void of meaning as one without truth and goodness. As he emphasised in a message to the children, "If you were with me, I would love to talk to you about this beautiful world of ours, about flowers and trees and birds and animals and stars and mountains and glaciers and all the other wonderful things that surround us in this world. We have all this beauty around us and yet we, who are grown-ups, often forget it and lose ourselves in our offices and imagine that we are doing very important work. . . . I hope you will be more sensible and open your eyes and ears to this beauty and life that surround you. . . ." For Nehru the world itself is "the greatest fairy tale".

Did I say Nehru is interested in education because he cannot build the social order of his dreams without pressing it into his service? I should modify that statement by saying that his interest in education stems basically from his interest in people, for, what is a good social order but the means for nurturing a good human personality? And his interest, even more in children, for whom he has the true teacher's solicitude and love. His writings, his speeches, his whole life is permeated with love for children.

If education means opening the doors and windows of the mind, Nehru has made a remarkable contribution to changing the pattern of our thinking and developing a progressive, dynamic and liberal approach amidst forces of social reaction and intellectual obscurantism. He has made it clear that India's cultural genius was essentially assimilative, absorbing new elements and synthesising them into a richer pattern. Whenever the synthetic approach has been in the ascendant, leading to unity within and fruitful contacts without, Indian culture has developed vitality and carried its message abroad. Whenever it grew static and separatist tendencies triumphed and the processes of fusion were arrested, India lost her vitality and became politically weak, disunited and culturally anaemic. Hence his plea for "emotional integration", meaning a meeting of the heart and the mind, which is the basis of true national unity, and for a hospitable and friendly welcome to healthy currents from abroad. He has somewhere aptly pointed out that like a tree, a culture should be not only rooted in the soil from which it draws its strength and stability but open to sunlight and breezes from outside from which it will draw its freshness and increasing vitality. Education has, therefore, to prepare the minds of our young men and women to welcome all that is good and worthy and life-giving in our culture and the cultures of other lands and to reject whatever is narrow and unworthy, even though it may have the stamp of tradition and time. But, he warns us, we are in some ways a narrow-minded people, in whom the "broadest tolerance and catholicity of thought and opinion" co-exist with "the narrowest forms of social behaviour" and prejudice.

Projecting his personal philosophy of liberalism on national as well as international policies, Nehru has struggled valiantly against the danger of narrowness. He favours educational policies which will arrest such tendencies. He welcomes the teaching of English and other foreign languages, he stresses the importance of modern science and technology which have mainly developed in western countries and exhorts us to look

upon the culture of India — in fact, the whole of "human culture" — as our common and precious heritage. "No one section of the country can lay claim to the sole possession of the mind and thought of India," he says. Linguistic fanaticism, provincial prejudices, caste barriers, religious narrowness — all provoke his righteous indignation because they build up walls between us and our rich cultural inheritance, to which all ages and peoples have contributed in different measure. How reminiscent Nehru's attitude is of the famous saying of the Prophet of Islam, "Knowledge and wisdom are the lost property of the true man of faith. He is entitled to it wherever he finds it."

Another important characteristic of Nehru's educational thinking is his appreciation of work as one of the basic values of life, a conviction which he shares with Gandhiji, and other great educationists and thinkers of East and West. He condemns the idea that work is undignified and that "the less work one does the higher is one's status in society". That is why he gives high place to physical fitness in the scheme of education. As he says," It is everybody's duty to be fit and strong; I have always had an acute dislike for illness and feebleness!" Hence, his emphasis on high standards of efficiency in everything. "Learning to be ladylike", he told an audience of women, is not education.

A great deal more could be said about Nehru the educationist, but I have said enough to indicate his great interest in education, his sensitive awareness of its basic issues, his appreciation of the deep and meaningful relationship between education and all other forces that play on life. I hope I have also given a glimpse of his mind and personality, which reveal some of the finest qualities of the good teacher in him. Like the true teacher, he has faith in the destiny of man and is not obsessed with pessimism because dark and ugly forces happen to be in the ascendant. "I see man's repeated martyrdom and crucifixion, but I see also the spirit of man rising again and again and triumphing over evil." Nehru is a precious part of that spirit, perhaps more than a part.

As a Urdu poet has said,

'Sham' ay Khirad, Khayāl Kay Anjum, jigar kay dāgh
Jitnay chiragh hain tayri mahfil say ā-ay hain.

Translated into English, the couplet reads:

The glowing candle of intellect,
The stars that illumine the mind,
The passion that burns in the heart —
All these lamps have borrowed their light from thy *mahfil*.

Shriyans Prasad Jain

A Model Parliamentarian

NEHRU'S ENTIRE parliamentary career has been as Prime Minister or at any rate as head of the Government, a position that he holds to this day. He took his seat as a nominated member of the Constituent Assembly on September 2, 1946. This was as Vice-President of the Interim Government under Lord Wavell.

Every new member of Parliament has to take the oath and in the case of nominated members the oath reads: "I . . . having been nominated a member of the Constituent Assembly . . . ." The story goes that when Nehru came up to the table of the House to take the oath he impulsively hesitated for a fraction of a second before the word "nominated" and exclaimed "but I am not nominated" in an agitated aside and then readjusting himself to the situation completed the text.

Nehru was not elected to the Lok Sabha until the first general election held under the new Constitution of the Republic in 1952; it was about the same time that I took my seat as a member of the Rajya Sabha. For six years thereafter I watched Nehru in Parliament. It was indeed a rare privilege. Dressed in an achkan, with a crimson rose tucked in his buttonhole, churidars and a Gandhi cap—all in spotless white khaddar—he stood out as the most fascinating figure in both Houses. His magnetic personality became all the more adorable because of his child-like simplicity and refined agility. That is why his status in Parliament is something more than that of Prime Minister and leader of the Congress party or even Leader

of the House. He has a unique personal position as the acknowledged spokesman of the nation, above party and above region. It is as such that I often saw members of the opposition turning to him in the course of bitter debate. Though Nehru then had no previous parliamentary experience he has proved to be a model parliamentarian. Perhaps, this is because of his education at Harrow and Cambridge and the respect that he always had even in the bitterest days of our national struggle for British parliamentary institutions.

I always found Nehru extraordinarily particular about his attendance in both the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha. The House is invariably full whenever he speaks. In fact, in case of advance notice the public galleries are also packed. Once in possession of the floor Nehru has the House in his grip. It is the personality of the man rather than his oratory that holds attention. His changing moods provide a study in themselves—pensiveness, humour, a burst of anger, repartee, introspection, sarcasm. These are passing moods underlying all of which is the one constant feature of appealing sincerity, a search for unity without compromising on principles and a repeated harking back to fundamentals. One of Nehru's favourite phrases is "basic approach".

Nehru rarely speaks from a prepared text. He seldom has even notes. As a debater he can be almost devastating. But he is no orator. His speech is never of the conventional type playing upon the feelings and sentiments of the House. True, when he speaks he is both convincing and forceful. He also argues well but occasionally his speeches are rambling, sometimes trite, sometimes reflective and unrelated to the immediate subject of the debate. In his speeches on foreign affairs, defence and economic policies there is always a touch of historical perspective. He also knows how to play on human psychology. That is why sometimes when he finds that his arguments do not impress he becomes emotional and gives vent to his impatience which produces the desired effect.

I often admired Nehru's role in the debates on foreign affairs. Therein he is always at his best. He speaks with a faith

and confidence which is rare among world's statesmen. That is why on all such occasions there is the keenest interest both inside and outside the House. The visitors' galleries are packed to capacity and foreign diplomats vie with one another in listening to the Prime Minister. This is indeed a rich tribute to the position that he occupies in international affairs.

In dealing with members Nehru can be quite hard-hitting. In fact, he is good at repartee. I recall the occasion when, in the course of a debate, he said: "India is a predominantly agricultural country, but we do not grow even enough food to feed our own people. Some people say that we are an industrial country. But where is the development of our industries?" Saying this he came out with a poser: "What shall we say?" A poet-member of the opposition interjected: "*Dhobika kutta na gharka na ghatka.*" (A washerman's dog belongs neither to the house nor to the washing place.) Nehru retorted: "The Hon'ble Member has good experience of himself." Even the opposition could not help joining the laughter.

During question-time Nehru is always active. Time and again he intervenes to rescue a colleague who may be in difficulties. Even when the House is engaged in routine business he manages to be present for some time. As soon as he enters the House something happens. His very presence makes a difference to the temper and dignity of the House and even to the trend of the debate.

India's Parliament owes a great deal to Nehru. It has developed from its beginning as the Constituent Assembly, inaugurated on December 9, 1946, and has progressed through two general elections as a sovereign institution representative of the people. In its constitution, composition and functioning Nehru's has indeed been a big hand. Under his guidance it has laid solid foundations for our country's political and economic growth. I do not think there are many modern Parliaments which can compare with the achievements of India's Parliament. The Prime Minister has taken good care to safeguard the rights and privileges of members and to

uphold the dignity and prestige of the House. He is responsive not only to the members of his own party but also to those of the opposition. This was amply illustrated when he agreed in 1956 to amend the States Reorganisation Bill to constitute Bombay into a large bilingual State in accordance with the overwhelming wishes of members belonging to all parties.

Though our Parliament is as democratic as any in the world, it is the Prime Minister who reigns supreme. His sway is undisputed and his hold unchallenged. He stands above the din of controversy and is all-domineering. A weak opposition has only helped to entrench him further in such a position. Consequently, there are not the checks and counter-checks in our Parliament for the successful functioning of a parliamentary democracy. For all practical purposes it appears to be a one-party rule under the sole authority of one person. A good democrat has been turned into a benevolent despot, amending even the Constitution as he pleases and adopting radical socialistic policies in the teeth of opposition. A friend of mine once told me that Nehru overtook the Praja-Socialist Party at Avadi in 1954 and is certain that he would outbid next year the Communist Party at Bangalore (where the next Congress session will meet). I do not think he is right. Nehru's speeches after the Ooty Seminar of the A.-I.C.C. show that he is anxious to adopt a more practical line for the industrialisation of our country and has declared that both private and public sectors must play equal roles. He has assured foreign investors of the necessary safeguards and welcomed the flow of foreign capital.

Another special feature of Nehru is that, besides being Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, he holds or has held at one time or another such offices as Defence Minister, Chairman of the Planning Commission and President of the Congress. Last year he also held the Finance portfolio for a while and introduced what he called a "pedestrian budget" but he carried the day with the skill of a financial expert. All these make Nehru's personality highly complex but reveal at the same time his strength and weaknesses. Again, multiple

responsibility has made great demands on his precious time and energy in and outside Parliament. He, therefore, complains now and again of staleness and has in recent months stripped himself of a part of these burdens in order to concentrate on his primary function, which is to guide the destinies of India along the path of peace, plenty and prosperity.

K. M. Panikkar

As a Historian

It is a significant fact that many of those who have interpreted history most successfully have not been academic historians, or indeed even professional historians. They were not concerned with researches, or study of musty documents, or controversies about details but either with the broad sweep of events relating to a particular people or a period, or with conflicts which arise as a result of the upsurge of new forces. The researcher and the meticulous monographer who subjects a limited period to a microscopic study have hardly even reached the status of historians. They have been the providers of raw material out of which historians have created their great works of interpretation.

Nobody can claim that Nehru has done independent research in history. All the same, his contribution to Indian historical literature has been notable. His *Discovery of India* is in every sense a major work on Indian history, though it would not be so classified by text-book writers. It does not bring to light any new fact; nor does it unearth new dynasties, fill up any of the gaps in our knowledge, or settle the controversies that add to the complications which students of Indian history face. Its significance lies in the fact that it is the first attempt to write a story of the Indian people, to give a picture of the evolution of India from the earliest days to our own time. It was thus a history in the proper sense of the word and not an assemblage of facts and details, a wearying narrative of local wars and struggles without any central purpose.

The fact that Nehru was an outsider, that is, not a professional student of history, was a help and not a handicap to him in this work of interpretation. As one directly engaged in shaping India's destiny and as an individual endowed with a critical sense desiring to understand the background of his own activity, Nehru was forced by his intellectual curiosity to discover India. It was essentially a spiritual adventure, a preparation for his own task of leading India's march towards independence. Without a proper appreciation of the course of a nation's historical evolution, an understanding of the reasons for her past failures and successes, no man can be a great national leader. In the case of India, it was especially so, for each man's conception of India differed from that of all others. The Hindus as a whole thought of India as a sacred land, the centre of civilization, religion, philosophy etc., which had unfortunately fallen on evil days, first by Muslim conquests and later by the establishment of British power. The Muslims thought of the country as a land which they had once ruled and which still provided a living testimony to their civilization. Regionally each area thought of its own glory and identified India with it. The school text-books written under British inspiration emphasised these weaknesses. The new school of Indian historians found it easier to concentrate on local histories, or on the story of vanished dynasties. In their hands Indian history became a fertile field for provincial jealousies, each historical area claiming imperial dignity and pretending to be superior to others. Magadha, of course, claimed to be the imperial state; but Ujjain and Kanauj could not be overlooked. The Andhras, the Rastrakutas, the Pallavas in the earlier days, the Rajputs, Vijayanagar and the Marathas in the later periods found their champions who in their enthusiasm added fuel to the fire of regional jealousies. Nehru's contribution to Indian history was that in his search to discover India he came across the Indian people and wrote the first outline of their history — not as a professional historian but as a humanist.

Nor did he confine his historical work to India. *Glimpses of World History* is, as was but inevitable, a lesser book, but it is

not without considerable value. History, as European writers had conceived it, was Europe-centred. Civilization, it was alleged, arose on the shores of the Aegean and blossomed first in Greece. It was taken to the East by Alexander. Through Rome it spread and took root in Europe. Civilization, according to most European historians and the dominant school of thinking in the West, is a European manifestation which spread to the rest of the world in the 19th century through the political dominance of Europe. The existence of contemporary non-European civilisations — Islamic, Chinese and Indian — was either overlooked or dismissed as being stunted growths, which ceased to have value when Western civilization emerged in its full majesty in the 19th century as the world civilization. This approach to history was almost universal. This meant a depreciation of the values of other civilizations and the creation of a myth of European superiority.

Archaeologists had to a large extent exposed the hollowness of this argument. Excavations in Sumer, Egypt and the Indus Valley had shown that civilization did not originate with Greece. The deciphering of the Shang bones established beyond doubt what was always known vaguely, the antiquity of Chinese civilization. The contribution of different peoples to the total of world's civilization is an accepted doctrine of history, but in the earlier decades of this century, the orthodox view was reflected in all text-books, that civilization was a monopoly of Europe and progress in all spheres that mattered had occurred only in Europe.

Glimpses of World History is an attempt to get the perspective right. There is no attempt in it to deprecate the achievements of Europe or the heritage of Greece or Rome. But it lays emphasis equally on the contributions of Persians, Arabs, Indians and Chinese and of the great non-Christian religions, Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism and puts the evolution of mankind in a world perspective.

It is interesting to observe how Nehru's interest in history has affected his position as a statesman. Anyone who studies his work as the Prime Minister of India can easily see that not

only in his internal politics but in the formulation of his external policy he is dominated by a sense of history. The sense of urgency in dealing with India's social, economic and political problems arises from his knowledge of India's past failures, due to her social backwardness, her undeveloped economic life and her lack of unity. His approach to international affairs is equally dominated by his sense of historical forces working in our time. To him communism is not merely a form of political and economic organisation. It is also a historical fact representing certain forces in the development of human society. In the same way, the Chinese revolution to him is a major aspect of the resurgence of Asia — a historical factor of outstanding importance in this century. The transformation of Africa he looks upon as the entry of a new force on the stage of world evolution. Thus, transcending the politician's approach to these problems as something to be dealt with *ad hoc*, he views them as parts of a unified whole as representing the evolution of mankind. In fact, even on contemporary events he brings to bear a historian's mind.

Kamalnayan Bajaj

Man and Superman

IN ANY assessment of Jawaharlal Nehru his birth and temperament must play an important part; but so also his power of thinking and the self-discipline to which he has always subjected himself. Born an aristocrat he made himself a democrat. People like him; he likes the people. People love him; he loves the people. People adore him; he adores the people. He is at his best in the midst of a crowd; the crowd is at its best when he is in their midst. The public glorify him as a hero, but the principles for which he stands are not fully understood by them, even though he symbolises their urges and aspirations.

Jawaharlal is an artist, an accomplished actor, who knows the stagecraft of the political platform. To the intelligentsia he appeals not only by the weight of his personality but by his intellectual approach which is characterised by sharp analytical powers. He holds the people spell-bound, sometimes by a display of his sensitive temperament and sometimes by indignant outbursts of anger. To these, he adds his personal charm and a ready enchanting smile to overpower the ignorant and the critic alike. Whether he likes it or not, he lives in an ivory tower of his own, perhaps incapable of descending from it without a conscious effort.

Physically, Jawaharlal has ruthlessly disciplined himself. This explains why he is so very active and energetic. He manages to compress into a single day, work that would take others several days. He does not sleep more than four to five hours every night. His spartan diet and regular yogic exercises

are mainly responsible for his enviable health and vitality. While physically he has mastered himself and cultivated the finest habits, emotionally and temperamentally he has not been able to control himself to the same extent. But these traits have not hampered him much, partly because he has developed a knack of using even his failings to advantage and also because he has grown so great that his temper, which is as quick as it is short-lived, leaves no rancour, much less bleeding hearts. The nobility of his character and his finer instincts amply make amends for the hard feelings he might have created on the spur of the moment.

Jawaharlal has an aesthetic sense which is at once simple and dignified. If things are not in their proper place, it irritates him. At times he would react violently even if a painting or a photograph does not hang properly on the wall; he is unable to concentrate on his work until it is put in its proper place. He is allergic to untidiness, rough manners and lack of etiquette. He tries to tolerate such behaviour but not always without betraying his irritation. His requirements in life are few. But he would like to have them neat and clean just the way he wants them. He has a weakness for an aggressive personality and enjoys the company of a versatile intellect. A keen intellectual with a good command over English would invariably make a favourable impression on him. If that is coupled with English etiquette and manners, Jawaharlal would feel completely at ease. At times he would be impressed by him to such an extent that he would readily put up even with a certain degree of conceit in him.

Jawaharlal is good but he does not always attract only those who are good. If in his multifarious activities he comes across a stupid or foolish person he does not know what to do or how to deal with him. He finds himself at a loss to handle such persons, and yet he cannot get rid of people he has "inherited" from the organisations he is connected with.

Nehru's greatness has created such a dazzling halo around him that it drives the nearest of his colleagues to a distance.

They dare not acquaint him with the realities of the problems. He is a man who would not have needed any such help in normal circumstances. But being Prime Minister he cannot afford to depend on vague and blurred visions of reality. On the other hand, the man in the street, eager to make his contribution to the strengthening of Jawaharlal's leadership, does not know how to help him, standing as his leader does on a pinnacle at which he can only look but which he cannot reach. In the process, Nehru has remained alone, without a second in command who can give the necessary shape to his ideas and ideals.

8

LIGHT AND SHADE

A well-known cartoonist, attached to The Times of India, *tells how he evolved a caricature to capture the full personality of Nehru in ink and line. This section consists of seventeen of his cartoons drawn during the past few years, providing a humorous commentary on some of Nehru's headaches and remedies.*



A Caricaturist's Impression

R. K. Laxman

In Ink and Line

As a caricaturist I found Nehru's features elusive. They do not have any recognisable stamp; they lack the element that can reveal the man. Stalin had his moustache; Mussolini his jaw, Gandhiji his toothless smile and Churchill has his chubby face; but there is nothing like it in Nehru. He is a man whose personality both obscures and dominates his features. That is why I had to see something beyond it to "catch" his spirit. If I were a photographer, I could have taken a perfect photograph of him; if I were a painter, I could have made a beautiful portrait of him; but it was not easy to caricature him. A caricature has to be more flexible than a photograph and less formal than a painting; further, it must look humorous. It is a form of art where the beauty lies in exaggeration. For a long time, Nehru defied being caricatured. I tried a hundred variations, but still could not succeed. I drew him with his nose long, with his lips protruding, with his cheek bones shown up and with his eyebrows sticking out, but somehow, I could not catch the real Nehru.

Suddenly, one day, in the course of my experiments, I drew Nehru without his cap and to my surprise as well as delight, I found that it bore the maximum resemblance to the real Nehru and yet, it turned out to be a most amusing caricature. At last, Nehru came to life. I could thereafter draw him in his various facets and moods. I could make him look happy, angry, bewildered, solemn, thoughtful. He was no longer rigid and lifeless, even in the company



Lightening The Burden



The Show Must Go On

of his colleagues who provide wonderful material to a caricaturist.

For me, his cap obscured Nehru's personality. It cramped him as it did my style; but I did not divest him of his cap to reveal his baldness; nor did I make use of his bald head merely to create a funny picture. I rendered him capless simply to give that liveliness to my caricature, which I could not find otherwise in Nehru's personality. I did so to bring out the Nehru nearest to my conception.

But I want to make it clear that the Nehru of my conception does not vary in essentials from the Nehru India knows or from the Nehru he himself has described.

Nehru once said he was at home neither in the East nor in the West. In a way, it is so true as much to his character as to my caricature. I represent in ink and line the traditional Nehru who begins his day with *yoga;* the eccentric Nehru who thereby amusingly realises the topsyturvydom of this world; the ardent Nehru who, being at home neither here nor there, valiantly attempts to build a bridge of peace between the East and the West; the socialist Nehru who, in spite of his ancient heritage, sees the problems of India with the eyes of a modern technologist; the lovable Nehru who as *Chacha* to millions delights in the company of children; the angry Nehru who, in maturity, chides errant Congressmen; and the fearless Nehru who, without pride or prejudice, can look at the Common Man in the face. All these facets of Nehru fit into my conception.

Having evolved a prototype, I could easily portray him in any given situation, especially as a Prime Minister who, by force of circumstances as well as his own personality, has become the inevitable focus of all national activity. This concentration of power was quite evident in the day-to-day functioning of his Cabinet. Every Minister was supposed to function independently of the Prime Minister. But in reality the doctrine of collective Cabinet responsibility was carried to an extreme and it always happened that Nehru's was the deciding voice on every issue that came before the various Ministers. Furthermore, the shoulders of Nehru were never



The Wide Open Door

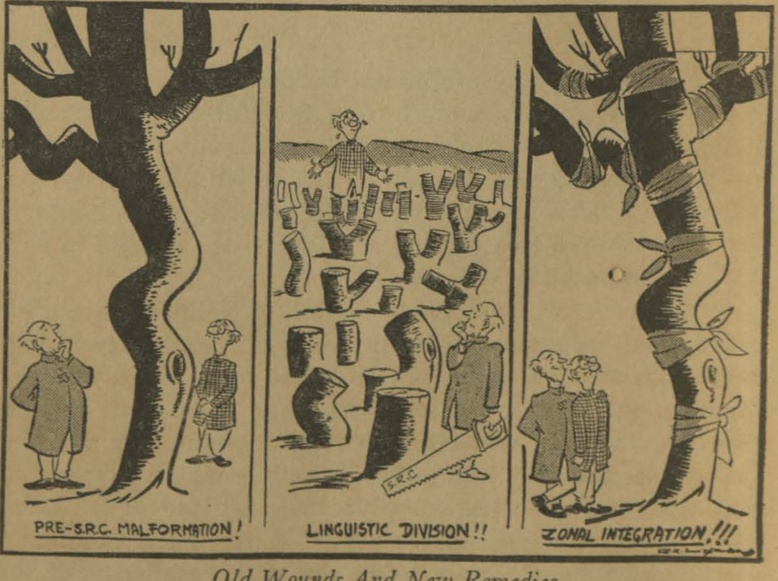
too small to carry any additional burden. When Chintaman Deshmukh resigned in a huff from the Cabinet, the public, though regaled by diverse press reports of his possible successor, was kept guessing who the next Finance Minister would be. After all, the show must go on. To the surprise of sooth-sayers, Nehru announced that he would assume that portfolio as well at a time when his hands were too full.

At the party level, a constant refrain of Nehru has been his insistent and inspiring call to the youth of the country to join the Congress in an endeavour to infuse fresh blood into the organization; of late, special efforts have been made in that direction. The door was wide open but unfortunately the cries "help, help, I am the boss or I will quit" emanating from that divided house were such as not to lure the youth into the Congress.

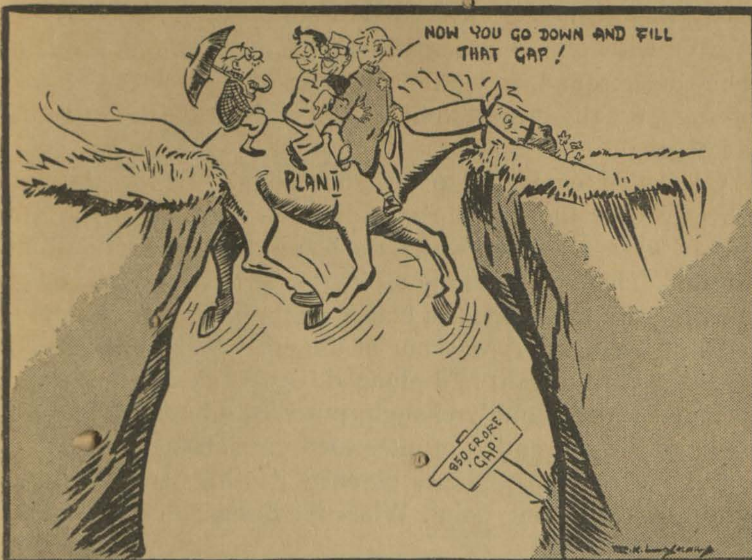
Off and on, the conscience of the Congress High Command was troubled by the knowledge that the popularity of the



Rescue Squad



Old Wounds And New Remedies



All Set

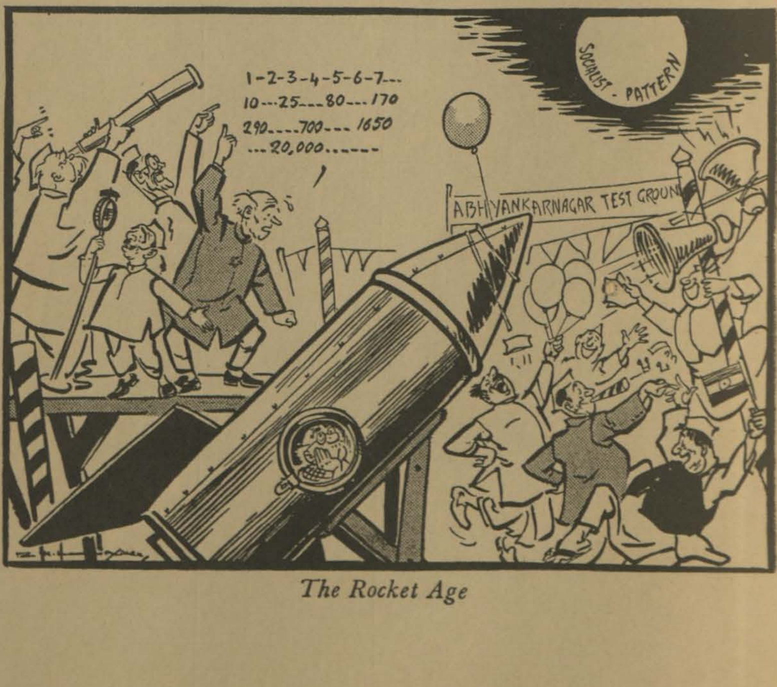


Equal Share

party was dwindling. Everybody would rush to Nehru to talk it over with him, but nobody would do anything about it. The rescue squad, instead of salvaging the wreck of Congress prestige, usually proved to be a band of silent spectators on the ringside.

One other challenge to Congress popularity was the controversy over the States Reorganisation Scheme, which also proved to be a rock on which the Central Government all but crashed. Though essentially a plan for territorial realignment, it was meant to introduce a better administrative set-up on the basis of language. A way out of the crisis into which a well-meaning Government had plunged itself was found in a zonal formula, which, funnily enough, practically brought back the prelinguistic conception of integrated divisions.

On the economic plane, planned development was quite naturally the talking point. When the Second Five-Year Plan



The Rocket Age

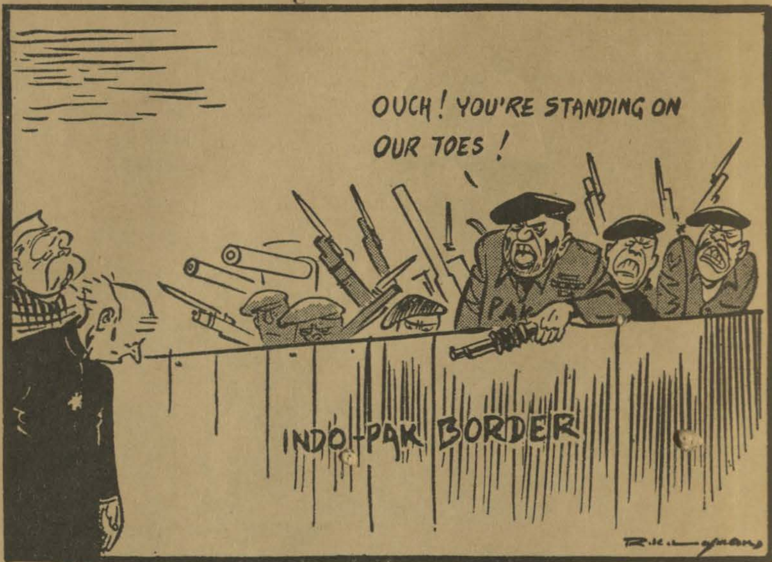


Shadow On The Wall

was formulated, a massive shortfall of Rs. 850 crores was more or less built into it. That was the time when Nehru, with his characteristic *naïveté*, exhorted the people to bridge the gap with their effort, somewhat like asking the man who was promised a ride to carry the helpless horse. As the Plan was being implemented, came the Nagpur session, which resolved to hasten the evolution of a socialistic pattern of society through land ceiling and co-operative farming, which evoked considerable resistance in certain quarters.

At all times, it looked as if planning was a guessing game and the private sector could never find out whether the Nehru Government was intent on destroying it or helping it. Nehru's passionate call to share equally in the economic life of India only left the private sector as bewildered as before about its destiny.

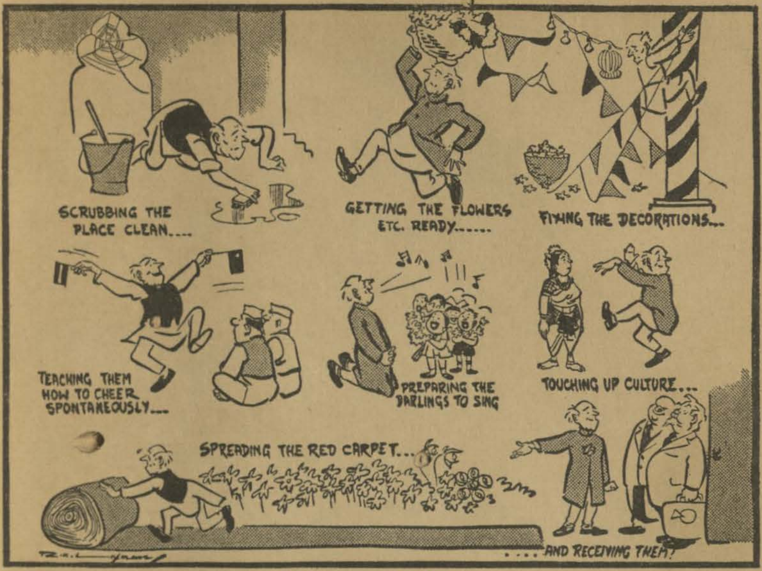
In that context, as the saviour of free enterprise, there emerged on the scene the Swatantra Party of C. Rajagopalachari,



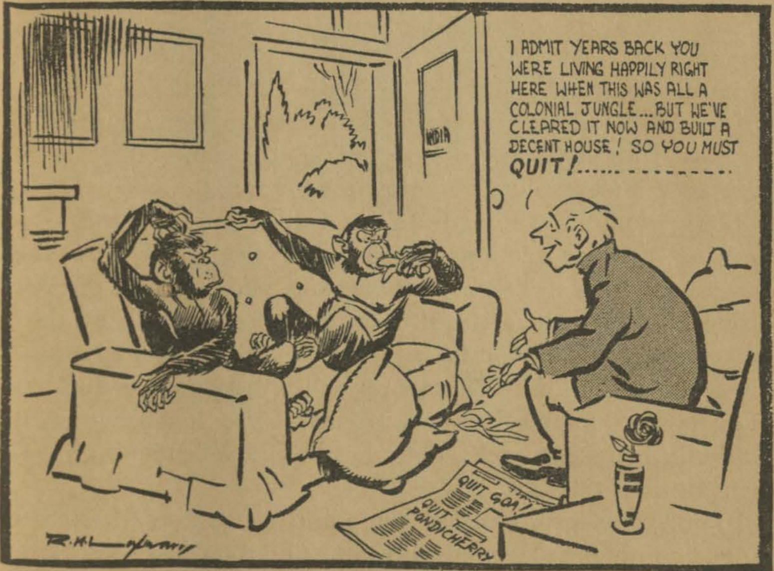
Occupational Disease



Coat of Arms



Welcome To India



Old Inhabitants



"Abominable Snowman"

a former Governor-General of India and colleague of the Prime Minister. Nehru assumed that there was no need to be scared about it as, in his opinion, the new party lacked substance and was just a shadow on the wall.

In the domain of foreign affairs, India's influence was ever growing, but her relations with her own neighbour, Pakistan, continued to be strained. One constant manifestation of their disharmony was the skirmishes on the border. Trigger-happy border pickets obviously suffered from an occupational disease! All the time Pakistan threw the blame on India, but that never damped Nehru's ardent desire for peace with Pakistan. In recent weeks, there has been a welcome improvement in their relations.

In pursuit of prosperity at home and peace abroad, Nehru ranged continents. He went to Russia; he went to China; and he went to the United States, a second time at the invitation

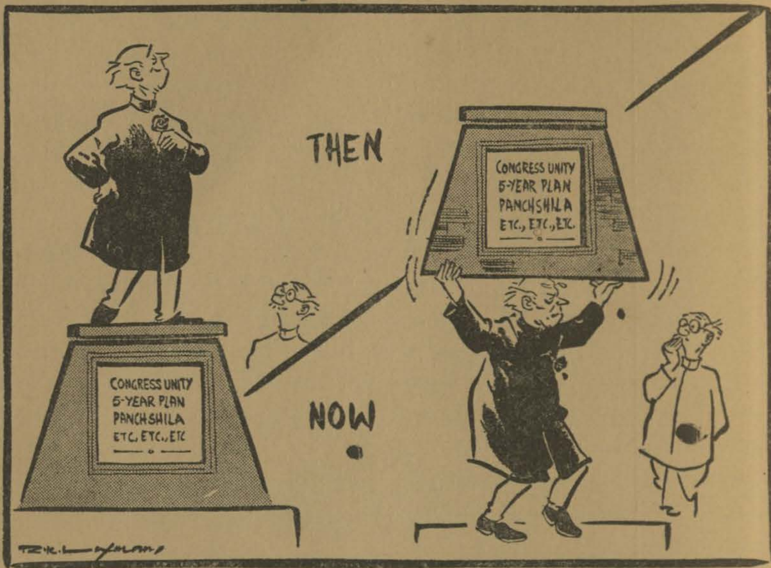
of President Eisenhower, when international tension was acute. Nehru amplified the popular slogan of the time "I like Ike" so much as to say "I like Ike and the like". Even as the globe-trotter of today collects a variety of labels on his luggage, Nehru's foreign policy also collected many tags — I like Chou, I like B & K, I like Ike. Still, to the Americans, his policy of positive neutrality remained somewhat of a mystery.

Reciprocally, Premiers, both proletarian and bourgeois, hopped over to India. But none of them excited as much popular enthusiasm as that once-famous team of B & K from the Kremlin. It was a grand ritual even to prepare to receive them, and it was good as long as it lasted. But, the company itself did not last, thanks to one of those pulls and twists of the Moscow marionette show.

A familiar ground of attack on the futility of Nehru's policy related to the continued existence of French and Portuguese pockets



Leap Backward



Age and Sympathy

on the soil of India years after she had graduated to freedom. The argument put forward by some foreign leaders interested in the dispute was that those Powers had the right to stay by virtue of having been there even before the Republic of India was born.

Yet another great test of Nehru's Panchshila was provided in China's action in Tibet and her claim to large chunks of Indian territory south of the McMahon line. Nehru helplessly looked on with sorrow as though at the foot-prints of the elusive, abominable snowman. As the years rolled by, the very foundations on which Nehru's prestige and reputation rested began to weigh him down. At one time, he had a solution to every difficulty; today, he faces a difficulty in every solution.

9

RECORD AND REFERENCE

This section gives a comprehensive year-by-year record of events and engagements in Nehru's life. It is supplemented with a bibliographical description of books by and on Nehru, which are essential to those interested in research on the Nehru theme.

The Nehru Calendar

1889 Born in Allahabad on November 14 of Motilal and Swaruprani Nehru. A Kashmiri Brahmin settled in Allahabad, Motilal had a lucrative practice at the bar. Swaruprani came from the famous Thussu family of Kashmir, settled in Lahore. Jawaharlal was their first child.

1905 After having studied privately under European governesses and tutors, Jawaharlal sailed for England with his father, mother and baby sister, Swarup (Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit) who was born 11 years after Nehru.

Jawaharlal was admitted to Harrow, where in his two years he was never exactly at home. He then joined Trinity College, Cambridge.

1910 Nehru left Cambridge after taking the Natural Science Tripos in Second Class Honours. He wanted to join the I.C.S. but decided against it and instead joined the Inner Temple and qualified for the bar.

1912 Nehru was called to the bar in summer and soon after returned to India. His seven-year stay in England was broken by only two brief visits home. On reaching India, he joined the Allahabad High Court Bar. He attended the Bankipore Congress as a delegate, marking the beginning of his political career. His first meeting with Gandhiji took place at the Lucknow Congress in the last week of December.

1916 Nehru married Kamala Kaul, daughter of a prosperous Kashmiri business man, in Delhi on February 8. They spent their honeymoon in Kashmir.

1917 Their only child, Indira, was born at Allahabad on November 19.

1919 Along with his father, Nehru started the newspaper, *Independent*, in Allahabad on February 9, and looked after its general supervision. The paper was closed two years later.

1920 The Punjab happenings and particularly the Jallianwala Bagh massacres in Amritsar stirred him and his father deeply, and the Nehrus began to be drawn more and more into Gandhiji's non-co-operation movement.

Jawaharlal organised a kisan march in Pratapgarh district of the U.P. and became a marked man in official eyes. Later, he was served for alleged connection with the Afghan Delegation visiting India at that time, with an order of externment which was subsequently withdrawn; this was his first encounter with the authorities.

On September 4, he attended the special session of the Congress at Calcutta as a delegate.

1921 Nehru became keenly interested in peasant problems and after attending the Nagpur Congress plunged into the kisan movement in Faizabad District of the U.P.

He was served on March 6 with an order under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code at Sultanpur. He defied it but no action was taken against him until December 6, when he was arrested for the first time under Section 17 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act at the time of the visit of the then Prince of Wales to India, along with his father and several others; Jawaharlal was sentenced to five months' imprisonment.

1922 Nehru was released on March 3 from the Lucknow District Jail before the expiry of his term of imprisonment. Meanwhile, the Chauri Chaura incident of the burning of police chowkies and policemen took place.

1922 Gandhiji withdrew the non-co-operation movement; this considerably upset Nehru.

He was arrested again on May 11 and detained in the Lucknow District Jail. In August, he was released, only to be re-arrested in October for alleged "intimidation of foreign-cloth dealers" and sentenced on December 17 to six months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000 under Section 17(1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

1923 Soon after his release in January, Nehru became leader of the Congress Party in the Allahabad Municipality and its Chairman, a position he resigned after two years. At the Congress session in September held in Delhi, he was elected General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee.

On September 22, he was arrested and after a trial at Nabha, then a princely State, was sentenced to two and a half years' rigorous imprisonment, in the alternative to leave the State. He left Nabha.

1926 In March, Nehru left for a tour, which lasted almost 22 months, of Italy, Switzerland, England, Belgium, Germany and Russia accompanied by his wife, Kamala, and his eight-year-old daughter, Indira.

1927 During this tour Nehru attended the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities (which established the League against Imperialism) at Brussels in February as the official delegate of the Congress from India. At the invitation of the Soviet Government, he attended in November along with his father the tenth anniversary celebrations of the Russian Revolution in Moscow and later recorded his impressions in the form of articles to the press which were subsequently published in a book form under the title *Soviet Russia*. Returning to India, he went in December to Madras and took part in the deliberations of the 42nd session of the Congress. He gave a

1927 new direction to the Congress policy on foreign affairs and committed the Congress to the goal of "complete independence".

1928 Early in the year Nehru was subjected to a lathi-charge by mounted police while leading a procession against the Simon Commission in Lucknow. Later, he presided over the Punjab Provincial Congress at Lahore on April 11, his speech presenting a magnificent study of the Punjab in turmoil.

On May 28, he presided over the Kerala Provincial Congress at Payyanoor. He supported the demand for an inquiry into the Bardoli grievances. He also participated in the All-Parties' Conference held on August 29 at Lucknow under the presidentship of his father and was a signatory to the famous "Nehru Report".

On September 22, Nehru presided over the All-Bengal Students' Conference held in Calcutta and, on October 27, over the U.P. Political Conference held at Jhansi. On December 12, he presided over the Bombay Presidency Youth Conference held in Bombay and on December 27, over the first All-India Socialist Youth Congress held in Calcutta.

In the same year on December 27, he moved an amendment to Mahatma Gandhi's resolution on Dominion Status at the All-India Congress Committee held in Calcutta, under the presidentship of his father, and reiterated the demand for "complete independence".

He also founded at this time the short-lived Independence for India League, demanding complete severance of India from the British, and became its General Secretary.

1929 Nehru presided over the Nagpur Political Conference on March 14. On September 20, Gandhiji recommended Nehru's name as the next President of the Congress. On October 1, he was elected President of the Lahore session and he presided over it on December 29, and

1929 made "complete independence" the unalterable goal of India.

Earlier, on November 30, he presided over the tenth session of the All-India Trade Union Congress held in Nagpur and began to take interest in labour problems.

1930 Along with thousands of others, Nehru was arrested on April 14 during the civil disobedience movement, which began on January 26. He was sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment for breaking the salt law and jailed in the Naini Central Prison where he stayed till his release on October 11. During this period he, along with other Congress leaders, was taken to Yeravda for peace talks with Gandhiji initiated by Sapru and Jayakar.

Eight days later, he was re-arrested for participating in a peasant conference at Allahabad. He was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 600. On December 29, his wife, Kamala, was also arrested.

1931 Nehru, along with other national leaders, was released on January 26 to facilitate consultations among Congress leaders, which ultimately led to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact signed on March 4.

His father, Motilal, died on February 6.

On December 26, he was again arrested for a breach of an internment order prohibiting him from leaving the municipal limits of Allahabad issued in connection with the agrarian movement in the U.P. and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

1933 In view of the serious illness of his mother, Swaruprani, Nehru was released from jail on August 30, twelve days before the expiry of his term. On September 15, his correspondence with Gandhiji was released to the press, which exposed the great gulf that existed between him and his leader in their respective attitudes to political and economic problems.

1934 An earthquake caused widespread havoc in Bihar. Nehru made an extensive tour of the province, organising relief for the sufferers and floated a fund. In February, he was again arrested at Allahabad for his speeches in Calcutta and taken to Calcutta where on February 16 he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment—his seventh term. On August 11, he was released to enable him to be with his wife, Kamala, who had taken seriously ill. He was re-arrested ten days later for making anti-government speeches and taken to the Naini Central Jail, from where he was transferred later to the District Jail at Almora.

1935 On February 14, while in the District Jail, Nehru completed his *Autobiography*.

On September 4, Nehru was set free owing to the critical condition of his wife, who had already been taken to Europe for urgent medical treatment. The next day he flew to Europe and saw his wife on September 9 in Switzerland. He paid a brief visit to London along with his daughter who was studying in Switzerland. During his stay abroad, he was elected President of the Congress for the 1936 session.

1936 On February 28, Kamala died in Switzerland. On his way back to India in March, Nehru, while passing through Rome, declined a persistent invitation from Mussolini to meet him. He returned home with renewed faith in socialism and with a determination to work for a socialist India. In April, his *Autobiography* was published, which gave him international recognition and helped greatly the Congress cause.

On April 23, he presided over the 49th session of the Congress held at Lucknow. In his presidential address, Nehru agreed to the Congress contesting the elections, under the Government of India Act of 1935 but opposed acceptance of office on the ground that it gave "responsibility without power" to the representatives

1936 of the people. But the Congress did not subscribe to his stand and formed Ministries in provinces where it was in a majority.

On June 2, he formed and drafted the provisional constitution of the Indian Civil Liberties Union and took an active interest in its work.

On December 9, he was re-elected President of the Faizpur session of the Congress held in December. In his presidential address he urged Congressmen to combat the 1935 Act from within.

From April 1936 to February 1937, he toured the country, covering 45,000 miles, for election propaganda and talked to about 20 million people. In most provinces the Congress won an overwhelming victory because of his personal appeal.

1937 Soon after the elections, a convention of the All-India Congress Committee members and Congress members belonging to the Central and Provincial Legislatures was held on March 19. In his address Nehru outlined the programme Congress legislators and Ministries should follow within the legislatures.

1938 Nehru was much saddened by the death of his mother, Swaruprani. He was also distressed by the rise of totalitarianism in Europe and the increase in the power of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. On his initiative, the National Planning Committee was appointed by the Congress and he became its Chairman. Disgusted with the internal crisis in the Congress, he went on a tour of Europe. He visited Spain which was involved in a civil war at that time, and expressed his active sympathy with the Republicans.

1939 After his return he tried to bring Subhas Bose and Gandhiji together but failed. He accepted an invitation from China and went there. He developed a personal

1939 friendship with Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. As the war clouds in Europe threatened to burst, he cut short his Chinese tour and returned to India. On September 3, the war broke out.

On arrival in India Nehru repeated his demand for "complete independence", so that India might be able to participate effectively on the side of the Allies.

1940 As the second satyagrahi chosen by Gandhiji in the individual satyagraha movement started by him, Nehru was arrested on October 31 and sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment. This was his eighth term in jail.

1941 Nehru, with other leaders, was suddenly released in December at the time of the attack on Pearl Harbour.

1942 Nehru met Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, who were on a State Visit to India, and held long consultations with them. Later, he participated in the negotiations started by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British Government for a settlement with India. On August 7, he explained to the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay why the Cripps Mission had failed and endorsed the call made by Gandhiji to the British to quit India, by himself moving the famous resolution at the A.-I.C.C. meeting in Bombay.

On August 8, along with Gandhiji, Congress President Azad and other members of the Congress Working Committee, Nehru was arrested in Bombay and taken to Ahmednagar Fort where, excepting Gandhiji and Sarojini Naidu who were taken to the Aga Khan Palace in Poona, they were detained until 1945. This action let loose a mass upheaval against the British culminating in the historic "Quit India" movement.

It was Nehru's ninth as well as longest and last detention. During this period, his routine included yogic exercises, gardening and experiments in poultry

1942 farming. On April 13, 1944, he began writing *Discovery of India*, which he completed five months later.

1945 An Allied victory became certain and on June 15, Lord Wavell, who was then the Viceroy of India, released Nehru and other Congress leaders, and initiated talks for a settlement with the British Government. In the negotiations that took place at Simla on June 25 Nehru conferred with Congress leaders headed by President Azad and Muslim League leaders headed by Jinnah; but the efforts proved in vain.

On July 17, he opposed the Muslim League's proposal for dividing India and creating Pakistan and called on the Congress to resist it. He also reiterated his opposition to partition at a mammoth gathering in Delhi.

The trial of three Indian National Army officers was held in the Red Fort and Nehru appeared formally in court, wearing the barrister's gown which he had discarded thirty years earlier.

Nehru plunged into the campaign for general election to the Provincial and Central Legislatures.

1946 In March, Nehru published his *Discovery of India*. He rushed to Bombay on the outbreak of the Naval mutiny and spoke on the ratings' strike at a public meeting.

On March 17, he left on a tour of South-East Asia where he saw for the first time the new awakening that had taken place as a result of the Second World War.

On May 9, he was elected Congress President for the fourth time and took charge of the office from his predecessor, Azad, at the All-India Congress Committee meeting held in Bombay on July 6.

On July 30, he met the Viceroy and gave him his reaction to the British Cabinet Mission's plan for a solution of the Indian problem.

On August 12, he accepted the Viceroy's invitation to form an Interim Government; he was sworn in as

1946 Vice-President and Member in charge of External Affairs on September 2.

Despite Nehru's efforts, Jinnah did not join the Interim Government which, therefore, consisted of Congress nominees and a few independents.

On September 26, Nehru explained for the first time what India's foreign policy would be.

Later as a result of negotiations between Wavell and Jinnah, the Muslim League joined the Interim Government. There was a re-shuffle, and some major portfolios like Finance, and Commerce and Industry were given to five nominees of the Muslim League. But the League nominees did not work in co-operation with the Congress and created situations which often made Nehru think of resigning office along with his colleagues.

On December 4, Nehru, accompanied by Baldev Singh, Member for Defence, Liaqat Ali Khan, Member for Finance and Jinnah went to London for discussions with the British Government on certain interpretations of the Cabinet Mission's plan. The British Government agreed with the League's interpretation.

On his return, Nehru moved the Objectives Resolution in the Constituent Assembly on December 30.

1947 This was the year of freedom. On January 3, Nehru presided over the Indian Science Congress.

In March, he visited the riot-affected areas of the Punjab. On March 23, he inaugurated the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi and acted as host to the representatives of different countries of Asia.

On March 26, the Mountbattens came on the scene. At that time, the crisis between Hindus and Muslims was deepening. To Nehru and Patel, it now seemed that Pakistan was preferable to chaos. They became reconciled to the partition of India.

1947 In two speeches before the Constituent Assembly on August 14, Nehru, along with others, paid tribute to Gandhiji as "the architect of this freedom", and declared, "We shall never allow the torch of freedom to be blown out, however high the wind or stormy the tempest."

Power was transferred to India at midnight of August 14/15. The next day, in a broadcast from All India Radio, Nehru unfolded his programme as free India's first Prime Minister. He visited the riot-stricken areas in the Punjab, along with Liaqat Ali Khan, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan and Sardar Patel, who had become the Deputy Prime Minister of the new Indian Government. Nehru was shocked by the "terrible orgy" he witnessed but declared in a broadcast, "India is not a communal state but a democratic state in which every citizen has equal right."

As refugees from West Punjab poured into Delhi riots broke out in the capital and Nehru displayed extraordinary physical energy, resistance and courage in suppressing them.

On November 25, he explained to the Constituent Assembly the situation that had developed in Kashmir as a result of an armed invasion by tribesmen, later proved to have been helped and directed by Pakistan.

1948 The nation lost Mahatma Gandhi. On January 30, he was assassinated by a Hindu fanatic. In a broadcast from All India Radio, Nehru called on the people of an orphaned nation to face the future with courage and determination.

He repeated his call on February 12, while speaking to millions of people who had assembled on the banks of the Ganga for the immersion of Gandhiji's ashes in the Triveni, Allahabad.

1948 On February 17, he gave the Constituent Assembly, for the first time, an outline of free India's new foreign policy, based on non-alignment and the freedom to judge all issues on merit.

On April 18, Nehru inaugurated the Rajasthan Union, the first such in the Government of India's plan for the integration of the former princely states with the Indian Union.

On June 2, Nehru inaugurated the third session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East at Ootacamund.

On June 20, he bid farewell to Lord and Lady Mountbatten before their departure from India. Lord Mountbatten was succeeded as Governor-General by C. Rajagopalachari.

On August 20, Nehru addressed the first meeting of the newly-formed Atomic Energy Commission, and himself took charge of the department.

Soon after the police action in Hyderabad, Nehru, in a broadcast on September 18, paid tribute to the people of India and Hyderabad for the manner in which they had co-operated with the Government. On October 6, he left for London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

It was at that Conference that he indicated the willingness of the would-be Indian Republic to continue as a member of the Commonwealth, with the British sovereign as its symbolic head.

At the invitation of British Premier Attlee, he carried on negotiations with Pakistani Premier Liaqat Ali Khan for a settlement of the Kashmir problem but these proved fruitless.

On October 25, Nehru left for Paris where on November 3, he addressed a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Returning to India on December 23, he inaugurated the silver jubilee session of the Indian Historical Records

1948 Commission in New Delhi and left the next day for Hyderabad to meet the Nizam.

1949 On January 20, Nehru inaugurated the 19-nation Asian Conference to condemn Dutch aggression in Indonesia and demanded an immediate settlement of the dispute. This was later followed by a formal protest to the Security Council.

On April 19, Nehru left for London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. On April 27, he agreed to a declaration, issued at the conclusion of the Conference, that the Republic of India, when formed, would remain within the British Commonwealth of Nations. He defended his decision vigorously on his return, in speeches to the Constituent Assembly, to the Congress and to the people of India.

In July, Nehru visited Calcutta, where hostile communists called for a boycott of a meeting he had planned to address. But more than a million people assembled to hear him. A bomb was thrown amidst the meeting, killing a policeman. Nehru was unperturbed and declared his resolve to put down lawlessness.

On September 24, he called on Pakistan to join India in a no-war declaration.

On October 7, he left India on an official visit to the United States at the invitation of President Truman. On his way, he stopped at Cairo on October 8 and held consultations with the then Egyptian Prime Minister, Hussein Sirry Pasha under King Faruk.

On arrival in Washington on October 11, Nehru was formally received by the U.S. President and his Cabinet at the airport.

On October 13, he addressed the U.S. Congress and assured its members of India's support in the preservation of liberty, justice and peace in the world.

On October 17, Columbia University, of which Eisenhower was then President, conferred on Nehru

1949 an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. The same day, he was accorded a civic reception at the City Hall, New York.

On October 19, Nehru visited the headquarters of the United Nations and attended a luncheon given in his honour by the Secretary-General, Trygve Lie. Nehru then addressed the Trusteeship Committee of the General Assembly and spoke to the United Nations Correspondents' Association.

On October 24, he addressed both Houses of the Canadian Parliament at Ottawa. On November 2, he received the honorary citizenship of San Francisco. On November 6, he was awarded the American Spingarn Medal for services in the Negro cause.

1950 On January 26, India became a Republic under a new Constitution of her own making. In the same month, Nehru welcomed to India President Sukarno of Indonesia. In March 1950, the Planning Commission was set up, with Nehru as its Chairman.

On April 2, he received the Prime Minister of Pakistan and signed the Nehru-Liaqat Ali Agreement on minorities. On April 9, he inaugurated the Indian Council for Cultural Relations in New Delhi. On April 26, he flew to Karachi at the invitation of the Pakistani Government for a three-day visit.

On July 14, he issued an appeal to the Big Three, calling for a speedy end to the Korean war. On September 8, he received a Tibetan delegation and heard their point of view in regard to the relations between India and China.

In an interview published in *U.S. News and World Report* on September 15, he charged North Korea with aggression. On November 28, in a speech to Parliament, he explained India's friendly attitude towards Pakistan. The same day, his correspondence with Liaqat Ali Khan was released to the press.

1951 On January 3, Nehru left for Cairo on his way to Geneva, London and Paris. In Paris, he called for the signing of an early peace treaty with Japan and warned the United Nations against any hasty action against China. On June 11, Nehru charged the United States and the United Kingdom with aiding Pakistan in her hostile attitude towards India on the Kashmir issue. On June 11, he left for a week's official visit to Nepal. On July 24, he again called on Pakistan to sign a no-war declaration with India in order to allay her fears of aggression. On August 27, he explained in Parliament the reasons which prevented India from participating in the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference. On September 7, he held talks with Frank Graham, who had been deputed by the United Nations to bring about a settlement of the Kashmir problem.

The differences between the right and left wings in the Congress were at that time manifesting themselves in the shape of an open conflict between Nehru and Tandon, who was then the Congress President, particularly on the issue of reconstitution of the Working Committee. Nehru refused to give in. Tandon, therefore, resigned his presidentship and Nehru was asked to take it over on September 9. As the new President of the Congress, Nehru announced his Working Committee on September 15 and presided over the 57th session of the Congress at Delhi on October 18. On November 22, he made a broadcast from All India Radio on the general elections, and exhorted the people to make parliamentary democracy a success.

Five candidates stood against him in Allahabad constituency, but he was elected to the Lok Sabha by a very large margin. In the course of his election tour, he visited practically every State in India and addressed mammoth gatherings. During his visit to Andhra, he reiterated his policy about linguistic redistribution of the States.

1952 On February 25, Nehru signed an Indo-Syrian treaty and received two days later Mrs. Roosevelt who had come to India in response to his invitation. In March, he held a series of meetings with Graham on the Kashmir question. On March 29 he inaugurated the silver jubilee session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at New Delhi. On April 14, he inaugurated the three integrated Railway Zones — Northern, North-Eastern and Eastern in New Delhi. On May 2, he inaugurated a conference of development commissioners in charge of the various community projects in New Delhi. On May 11, he was re-elected leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party in the new Lok Sabha and was called on by the President of India to form a Cabinet at the Centre. On June 7, he opened a scheduled tribes and scheduled areas conference, and addressed a tribal conference in New Delhi, advocating the preservation of the tribal way. On June 28, he expressed grave concern over the U.N. raids in North Korea and called for peace talks.

On July 24, he reported to Parliament certain agreements reached with the Government of Kashmir on its relations with India. On September 17, he addressed the All-India Newspapers Editors' Conference. On October 2, he toured the famine-stricken Rayalaseema districts in Andhra. On November 4, at a press conference in New Delhi, he reviewed the Government of India's attitude in respect of the racial problem in South Africa, Kashmir, foreign pockets in India and Indo-Pakistani relations. On November 17, he spoke at the silver jubilee celebration of the Central Board of Irrigation and Power. On November 20, he met a deputation of the Catholic Bishops' Conference. On November 23, he participated in the International Buddhist Cultural Conference held at Sanchi, near Bhopal. On December 22, he received a delegation of Asian students.

1953 On January 4, Nehru received former British Prime Minister Attlee, who was visiting India at his invitation. On January 9, he participated in the World Gandhian Seminar held in New Delhi. Nehru presided over the 58th Congress session at Hyderabad on January 17-18. On March 7, he inaugurated the railway centenary exhibition at Purana Qila in Delhi. On March 8, he inaugurated the Backward Classes Commission. On April 13, he explained to a mammoth meeting in New Delhi the significance of the Five-Year Plan. He entertained at his residence on May 12, Adlai Stevenson and on May 20, John Foster Dulles and Harold Stassen—all three well-known American statesmen.

On May 28, he left for London to be present at the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. On his return he received Tenzing Norkay, the Everest hero, on June 30. On July 25, he left for Karachi at the invitation of the Government of Pakistan for a two-day visit. On August 1, he inaugurated the nationalised Air Corporations. On August 12, he inaugurated the Central Social Welfare Board. On September 21, he laid the foundation stone of the Electronics Institute at Pilani, near Jaipur. On October 13, he opened the deliberations of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan at New Delhi. On October 21, he received a group of U.S. Congressmen on a visit to India. On October 31, he made an aerial survey of the flood-affected areas in Bihar.

1954 On January 15, Nehru received Sir John Kotelawala, the then Prime Minister of Ceylon. On January 19, he visited the Kumbh Mela—a Hindu religious concourse—and then presided over the 59th Congress session at Kalyani, near Calcutta. On March 29, he inaugurated the Institute of Public Administration in New Delhi. On May 3, he left on a visit to Colombo.

1954 On June 25, he welcomed to India the Chinese Premier, Chou En-lai, and his party and held talks with them. A joint statement issued at the end of their talks embodied the Five Principles or Panchshila, which became the sheet-anchor of India's foreign policy. On July 16, he gave a lunch to Justice William Douglas of the United States Supreme Court. On August 31, he received a delegation of students and teachers, who were going on a visit to the U.S.S.R. Nehru visited China in October and was impressed with the Communists' economic efforts. On November 26, he addressed an atomic energy conference. On December 4, he met a deputation of Jain monks. On December 17, he welcomed to India President Tito of Yugoslavia and held talks with him.

On December 26, he left on a visit to the countries of South-East Asia and was given an enthusiastic reception at Rangoon, Bangkok, Jakarta, Singapore and Penang.

1955 On his return to India, Nehru declared at a public meeting in Calcutta that there were better chances of peace in the world than before in spite of the many grave problems facing it. On January 3, he received in New Delhi the U.N. Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjoeld. On January 4, he inaugurated the 42nd session of the Indian Science Congress at Baroda and the next day, at a public meeting in Ahmedabad, he declared that there were better prospects of solving the Indo-Pakistani problems than before. At the 60th session of the Congress held at Avadi, near Madras, under the presidentship of U.N. Dhebar, Nehru redefined the Congress goal as the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society in India, in place of its original objective of a co-operative commonwealth.

1955 On January 28, he left for London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. On February 15, he arrived in Cairo from Paris and exchanged views with the new Egyptian Premier, Nasser. On February 25, in a major policy speech, he called for the recognition of China by the United Nations and a settlement of the Formosan question. On February 27, he inaugurated the first Film Seminar in New Delhi. On March 1, he protested to the Government of Ceylon against the mass rejection of citizenship applications from residents of Indian origin in that island.

On March 5, Nehru addressed the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, and then explained the motivations of the Congress resolution on the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society. On March 11, he clarified the stand taken by his party at Avadi and called on the people to accept it. On March 12, as he was driving from Sonegaon airport to Nagpur, a rickshawpuller, Babu Lal, jumped with a knife on the footboard of his open car and, on suspicion of an intention to stab Nehru, was arrested.

On March 17, Nehru welcomed to India Prince Norodom Sihanouk Verman of Cambodia. On March 18, a joint declaration affirming the faith of Cambodia and India in the Panchshila was issued. On March 20, on a visit to the Bhakra-Nangal project, he declared that it represented the power and spirit of India and was the symbol of her future prosperity. The same day, he laid the foundation stone of the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society's building in New Delhi. On March 24, he inaugurated a radio-telephone service between India and Burma, and talked with U Nu, the then Burmese Prime Minister. On March 25, he welcomed to India U Nu, who was on a pilgrimage to Buddhist shrines in India. On March 31, he received a trade and cultural delegation from the West Indies. On April 1,

1955 he had a meeting with Anwar El Saadath, one of the leading members of the Egyptian Revolutionary Cabinet and a close colleague of Nasser.

On April 2, he delivered the convocation address at the Indian Agricultural Research Institute in New Delhi. The same day, he declared in Parliament that he would resign rather than give in on the question of a ban on cow-slaughter. On April 3, he inaugurated the first national convention of Indian farmers and urged them to improve their methods of farming so as to increase production.

On April 6, he attended a session of Gadia Lohars and led a procession of about two thousand Gadia Lohars from all parts of India into the Chitor Fort in fulfilment of a vow taken by the community 400 years earlier that they would enter the Fort only after India had been freed. On April 9, he welcomed to India Pham Van Dong, the North Viet Namese Deputy Prime Minister, and held talks with him, which resulted in a joint declaration by both Governments re-affirming their faith in the Panchshila.

On April 11, he moved in the Lok Sabha the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill regarding compensation for property acquired by the State for public purposes. On April 12, in a message to the Chinese Government, he expressed his sympathy with the relatives of the Chinese and Indian victims of the accident to the Air-India International Constellation, "Kashmir Princess", which had crashed into the South China Sea the previous day.

On April 13, he received Egyptian Premier Nasser and his party at Palam airport on their way to the Bandung Conference. The same day, he presided over a public reception organised by the citizens of Delhi in honour of the Egyptian Premier, and Mohammed Naim, Deputy Prime Minister of Afghanistan.

1955 On April 14, speaking at a banquet given in their honour, Nehru expressed the hope that the Bandung Conference would help to reduce tension and conflict in the world.

Accompanied by the two dignitaries and their parties, Nehru left New Delhi on April 15 and arrived at Bandung the next day for the historic Afro-Asian Conference. Delegates from 21 African and Asian countries attended the Conference and formulated a statement of Ten Principles in elaboration of the Panchshila.

On April 26, he returned to India and immediately deputed V. K. Krishna Menon to go to Peking to hold talks with the Chinese Prime Minister in respect of certain aspects of the Formosan question. On May 2, he greeted Emir Faisal, Prime Minister of Saudi Arabia, on his arrival in New Delhi. On May 4, in a statement to the Lok Sabha, Nehru uttered the warning that the situation in Goa had become grave on account of the atrocities committed by the Portuguese authorities.

On May 6, he presided over a meeting of the high-powered National Development Council in New Delhi. On May 10, Nehru emphasised that the task before the Congress was to increase the economic strength of the country. On May 12, he laid the foundation stone of the National Museum in New Delhi.

On May 13, the new Pakistani Prime Minister, Mohammed Ali, accompanied by his Minister for the Interior, Major-General Iskander Mirza, arrived in New Delhi to have talks with Nehru on the Kashmir question. These talks, according to the Pakistani Prime Minister, neither succeeded nor failed. On May 25, addressing the All-India Students' Congress, Nehru advised students to take an active interest in India's Five-Year Plans. On May 30, he received a message of thanks from the U.S. Secretary of State Dulles for his efforts to obtain the release of American airmen

1955 imprisoned in China. On June 4, while addressing a public meeting in Poona, Nehru reiterated his policy towards Goa, and made it clear that the Government of India had no intention of taking police action or resorting to force to liberate Goa from Portuguese domination.

The next day, he left on a tour of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy and Egypt. On his first lap of the journey, he halted in Cairo and conferred with Premier Nasser of Egypt. On June 6, he flew to Prague for talks with the Czechoslovakian Prime Minister, Antonin Zapotacky, and members of his Government. On June 7, Nehru arrived in Moscow and was received by Prime Minister Bulganin and members of the Soviet Government, and Khrushchev, the First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party. On June 8, at a banquet given in his honour by the Indian Ambassador in Moscow, Nehru spoke of the basis of international co-operation and the sanctity of territorial integrity. On June 9, speaking at a State banquet given in his honour by Bulganin, he pleaded for peaceful co-existence on the basis of the Panchshila. In his reply, Bulganin praised India's peaceful role in international affairs.

On June 11, Nehru began his tour of the Soviet Union and visited Stalingrad, the Volga hydro-electric dam, the Crimea, Georgia and the Central Asian Republic of Uzbek, in particular Tashkent, its capital. Nehru visited the tombs of Muslim saints and saw other places of cultural and historical interest. Later, he visited Rubtsysk in Southern Russia and paid a visit to Alma Atta, the capital of Kazakistan. He visited Severdivosk in the Urals and saw the steel plant there. On June 19, he arrived in Leningrad and was welcomed by huge crowds lined up for miles together. On June 21, he addressed Soviet citizens at Moscow's Dynamo Stadium and later attended a ballet at the Bolshoi Theatre. On

1955 June 22, Nehru and Bulganin signed a joint declaration reiterating the determination of both Governments to adhere to the Panchshila. The same night, the Soviet Prime Minister gave a banquet in Nehru's honour. Nehru received an honorary doctorate from the Scientific Council of Moscow University.

On June 23, Nehru left Moscow and arrived in Warsaw, where he was received by the Prime Minister of Poland and members of the Polish Government. From Warsaw, Nehru returned to the Soviet Union for a brief visit to the Georgian Republic. From there, he went to Austria and visited the place where the Auschwitz concentration camp had been located in Nazi days. The next morning, he visited the Vienna Municipality and held talks with the Austrian Chancellor and other members of the Austrian Government. On June 28, he held a two-day Conference of Indian Ambassadors in Europe at Salzburg in Austria.

On June 30, he arrived in Belgrade on a State visit to Yugoslavia and was received by President Tito and members of his Government. On July 12, he addressed the Federal Parliament at Belgrade. On July 6, he held talks at Brioni with Tito and on July 7, the Nehru-Tito joint statement was released to the press. Arriving in Rome on July 8, he saw the Pope, who agreed with Nehru that the Goa issue was an entirely political problem. The same day he arrived in London and held talks with the British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden.

On July 11, on his way back to India he made a brief halt at Cairo and held further consultations with Premier Nasser.

On July 15, President Prasad held a State banquet in Nehru's honour and conferred on him the highest national award, "Bharat Ratna". The next day, he was accorded a civic reception in the capital. On July 19, Nehru welcomed President Sukarno, who was on his way to Mecca on a Haj pilgrimage.

1955 In the last week of July, letters were exchanged between Nehru and Eisenhower on Asian problems. On July 26, Nehru declared in the Lok Sabha that Portugal's hold over Goa was a continuing interference in Indian affairs. On July 29, Nehru publicly congratulated President Eisenhower on the role he had played in easing East-West tension during the Big Four Conference at Geneva. He sent a similar message to Premier Bulganin of the Soviet Union. Nehru inaugurated the Department of African Studies and the Africa Society of Delhi University on August 6.

Addressing a huge gathering, after hoisting the flag on the ramparts of the Red Fort, on August 15, Nehru declared that the Indian independence movement was not limited to the former British India to the exclusion of Goa and Pondicherry. Reporting to Parliament, in three different statements on Goa, Nehru described the behaviour of Portuguese authorities in firing on unarmed and peaceful satyagrahis as "brutal and uncivilised". In an address to the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee in Sitapur on August 21, he said: "Opposed as we are to colonialism everywhere, it is impossible for me to tolerate the continuance of colonial rule in a small part of India." He, however, welcomed the resolution passed by the A.-I.C.C. meeting in New Delhi on September 4, disfavouring any massive attempt by satyagrahis to enter Goa. Reverting to the subject in the Rajya Sabha on September 6, Nehru observed that Goa had become a rather interesting test of how people and countries felt about such colonial territories, and pointed how Pakistan alone among the Asian countries was not following the Bandung principles in this respect.

On September 21, Nehru signed a joint statement along with the Crown Prince and the Prime Minister of Laos, Prince Savang Vathana and Katay D. Sasorith, emphasising that every effort should be made by all

1955 concerned to secure the implementation of the Geneva Agreement, as it was essential to preserving the unity and independence of Laos.

He inaugurated in Bangalore on October 6 the Hindustan Machine Tools factory. He opened the Inter-University Youth Festival in New Delhi on October 23. Inaugurating the Indian Industries Fair in New Delhi on October 29, he observed that we should utilise modern technology with understanding, humanism, tolerance and compassion in order to achieve a proper balance between machine and man.

On November 18, Nehru was at Palam airport to welcome the Russian Prime Minister, Marshal Bulganin, and the First Secretary of the Russian Communist Party, Nikita Khrushchev, who arrived for a three-week tour of India. Speaking at a civic reception to the Russian leaders in New Delhi on November 19, Nehru declared, "We stand for peace above everything because it is essential for us and for the rest of the world, and we are, therefore, comrades of all who are for peace." Proposing the toast to the Russian leaders at a State banquet on November 20, Nehru said that the friendship between the two neighbouring countries — India and the Soviet Union — was good for world peace.

Speaking at a civic reception to King Saud of Saudi Arabia, who was on a 17-day State visit to India, at the Red Fort in Delhi on November 28, Nehru referred to the centuries-old cultural relations between the two countries.

Presiding over a civic reception, three million strong, to the Russian leaders in Calcutta on November 30, Nehru welcomed the statements on Goa by the Soviet leaders — Bulganin condemned Portuguese domination over Goa at Madras on November 28 and Khrushchev at Delhi on November 30 — and said that he could not understand the silence of some other Powers on the subject.

1955 On December 10, Nehru laid the foundation stone of South India's biggest river valley project — the Nagarjunasagar Project. On December 11, a joint statement by Nehru and King Saud was issued, reaffirming their faith in the Panchshila. On December 13, Bulganin and Nehru signed a joint statement reiterating the peaceful aims of India and Russia and their Governments' adherence to the principles of co-existence and non-interference in each other's affairs.

1956 Addressing a public meeting on January 3 at Agra, Nehru welcomed the speeches of Bulganin and Khrushchev in support of India's stand on Goa and declared, "We do not want to use force and we shall follow that principle in Goa and Kashmir." Nehru signed a joint statement on January 19, with Frank Bluecher, West German Deputy Premier, declaring that the relations between the two countries should be governed by the principles of non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

With the release of the Central Government's communique on the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission, Nehru made a broadcast to the nation, appealing for unity, co-operation and hard work. Speaking at the National Development Council meeting in New Delhi on January 20, Nehru defended the nationalisation of life insurance.

He met Dag Hammarskjoeld, the U.N. Secretary-General, in Delhi the same day. Inaugurating the 12th session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East on February 2, Nehru suggested that social and economic problems should be considered separate from political conflicts.

Addressing the 61st session of the Congress, held at Amritsar, after its adoption of a foreign policy resolution, Nehru criticised military pacts, stressed the futility of cold war and commended the Panchshila.

1956 Replying to the debate on the President's address in the Lok Sabha on February 23, Nehru referred to the changes in Russian policies and said these were taking the Soviet Union "more and more towards some kind of normalcy".

Nehru had three meetings with Selwyn Lloyd, the British Foreign Secretary, in Delhi on March 3 and discussed developments in Asia. Inaugurating the 29th annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in New Delhi on March 4, he exhorted the business and industrial communities to adapt themselves to the fast-changing social and economic conditions in India.

Nehru held prolonged talks with John Foster Dulles, the U.S. Secretary of State, in New Delhi on March 8 and 9 on "matters of mutual interest" and met the French Foreign Minister, Christian Pineau, two days later. Nehru made a statement to the Lok Sabha on March 20, on his talks with Dulles, Lloyd and Pineau. The same day, it was announced that Nehru would pay a brief visit to the U.S.A. in the first week of July for talks with President Eisenhower.

Intervening in the Lok Sabha debate on the defence budget, he warned the nation that while a war between Pakistan and India was unlikely, "one cannot ignore the possibility of some emergency arising". He declared on March 29 that there was no question of arbitration or a plebiscite in Kashmir in view of the developments that had taken place on both sides of the cease-fire line during the previous eight and a half years. The first Deputy Prime Minister of Soviet Russia, A. I. Mikoyan, met Nehru in New Delhi on March 30.

Inaugurating the 18th annual meeting of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation in New Delhi on April 14, Nehru stressed the necessity of speeding up economic expansion in order to defend our freedom. Nehru signed on April 28, an agreement with Canada for the establishment of an atomic reactor in Bombay.

1956 Nehru announced on April 30 the new industrial policy of the Government of India in the Lok Sabha, envisaging a rapid expansion of the public sector and a fortnight later presented the Second Five-Year Plan to Parliament. In a Lok Sabha statement on May 22, he appealed for peace in Algeria and put forward a five-point proposal with that aim. The same day, he deplored the "shocking conditions" and the treatment meted out to political prisoners, particularly women, in Portuguese jails in Goa.

Nehru left New Delhi on June 21 for London to attend the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference (June 27–July 6). He was away for five weeks and visited, besides Britain, Ireland, West Germany, France, Yugoslavia, Greece, Egypt, Syria and the Lebanon. On July 10 he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws of the National University of Ireland in Dublin. On July 16 Hamburg University conferred on him two honorary doctorates, of law and medicine, in recognition of his work for improving the condition of the people of India and in the cause of international understanding. On July 16 Nehru issued with West German Chancellor Adenauer a joint communique expressing their faith in the Panchshila and announcing West German co-operation in the economic development of India. On July 17–18 he had talks with the French Prime Minister, Christian Pineau, and Foreign Minister Guy Mollet, during which Nehru pressed for a negotiated settlement in Algeria. On July 18 and 19 Nehru, Egyptian President Nasser and President Tito of Yugoslavia exchanged views at a two-day conference in Brioni. The three leaders issued a joint statement on July 20, reaffirming their faith in the Ten Principles laid down by the Bandung Conference to govern international relations. In Cairo, on July 20, Nehru and Nasser had a further exchange of views.

1956 Returning to India on July 23 Nehru took over the next day the Finance portfolio, on the resignation of the Finance Minister, C. D. Deshmukh. Addressing a public meeting at the Red Fort, Nehru sounded a warning against the use of force in solving the Suez Canal question. Intervening in the debate on the States Reorganisation Bill in the Lok Sabha on August 10, Nehru asked the people to put an end to violent agitation and to accept the verdict of Parliament. Nehru was involved in a jeep accident near Anjar, in Saurashtra, on August 18, but escaped with a few bruises. He was then on a tour of earthquake-affected areas in Kutch.

Nehru sent a message to the U.N. Secretary-General on October 31, urging swift U.N. action against the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt. Nehru welcomed the delegates to the ninth UNESCO conference in Delhi on November 5. Referring to the gathering as "the conscience of the world community", he exhorted the delegates to pay heed to "the collapse of conscience and good morals that we see around us".

Nehru participated in the Colombo Powers Prime Ministers' Conference convened in New Delhi on November 12, 13 and 14 especially to consider the grave situation that had arisen on account of the aggression in Egypt. Nehru explained the situation in Hungary to the All-India Congress Committee on November 11 in Calcutta and disapproved of the habit of big countries locating their armed forces and bases in other countries. In a Lok Sabha statement, Nehru demanded the withdrawal of British, French and Israeli forces from Egypt, and of Soviet forces from Hungary. Nehru welcomed Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai, who was on a 12-day visit to India, at Palam airport and held talks with him on November 30.

Replying to a two-day foreign affairs debate in the Rajya Sabha, on December 3, Nehru criticised Pakistan's aggressive role in Kashmir, demanded the

1956 withdrawal of Anglo-French-Israeli troops from Egypt and renewed his call for the admission of U.N. observers into Hungary. On December 14, Nehru, accompanied by his daughter, Indira Gandhi, and the Secretary-General of the External Affairs Ministry, N. R. Pillai, left New Delhi by air for the U.S.A., Canada and Europe. He had a talk with the British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, in London on December 15. He was received in Washington on December 16 by top U.S. officials led by Vice-President Richard Nixon and Secretary of State Dulles. He was later welcomed at the White House by President Eisenhower. On December 17, Eisenhower and Nehru drove to the President's farm at Gettysburg, where they held discussions for 14 hours. On December 18, in a radio and television broadcast to the people of the United States, Nehru declared that the two republics shared a common faith in democratic institutions and the democratic way of life, and were dedicated to the cause of peace and freedom. Addressing a large gathering of newspapermen in Washington, Nehru said that American foreign policy was not as rigid as he thought it was before he visited the U.S.

On December 19 he again conferred with President Eisenhower at the White House and met Secretary of State Dulles and Harold Stassen, the President's adviser on disarmament. A communique issued on December 20 declared that the talks had helped India and the United States to promote peaceful and friendly intercourse among nations in accordance with the principles of the United Nations.

Nehru conferred separately on December 19 with the Ambassadors of Israel, Syria and Iran. On December 20 he left Washington for New York. The same day he met Averell Harriman, then New York State Governor, and addressed the American Association for the United Nations.

1956 On December 20 he addressed an informal meeting of the members of the U.N. General Assembly, where about 3,000 delegates were present. In his address, he denounced military pacts and said that developments in Egypt and Hungary had shown that world opinion was too strong a factor to be ignored. In a talk to some 3,000 Government and U.N. leaders at the Carnegie Endowment International Centre in New York, he said that no act of the United States Government had gained so much respect for the U.S. as its support of certain principles in recent weeks, particularly concerning the attack on Egypt.

On December 21, he met the Afro-Asian and Commonwealth diplomats at the U.N. On December 21 he arrived in Ottawa, and held talks on the international situation with Canadian leaders, including Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent and Minister for External Affairs Lester Pearson. Addressing a news conference in Ottawa he called for an end to the Western embargo on trade with China. In an interview televised by the Canadian Broadcasting System on December 23, Nehru said that India would like to help in a solution of the Suez Canal dispute. He left Ottawa for London on December 23. The next day, he drove straight to the country residence of the British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, and then spent Christmas with Lord and Lady Mountbatten at Broadlands. He left London for New Delhi on December 27. On his return journey he held an informal talk with the West German Chancellor at Dusseldorf. He met the Lebanese Foreign Minister, Charles Malik, at Beirut on December 28. The same night he arrived in New Delhi.

1957 Nehru held conversations with Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier, during the latter's third visit to India, from December 30, 1956 to January 2, 1957, in

1957 New Delhi and Nangal, and during their journey between the two places.

In two speeches at the 62nd session of the Congress in Indore on January 6, Nehru deplored the race to fill the power vacuum in West Asia and took a grave view of U.S. military aid to Pakistan. He said that the latest and deadliest weapons were being poured into a country whose Foreign Minister had named India as Pakistan's "only enemy".

Nehru visited Nalanda with the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama on January 12, for the final ceremony of the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's Mahaparinirvana.

On January 13, before inaugurating the Hirakud project across the Mahanadi in Orissa, Nehru observed, "A land of temples, the State now has a new temple and in it a god for the whole country." Inaugurating the 44th session of the Indian Science Congress in Calcutta on January 14, he said, "If science divorced itself completely from the realm of morality and ethics, then, the power it possessed might be used for evil."

Formally opening Asia's first atomic reactor in Trombay, near Bombay, on January 28, Nehru gave a categorical assurance that India would never use atomic energy for evil purposes. After talks with the Syrian President, Shukri al-Kuwatly, in New Delhi on January 17 and 19, Nehru signed a joint statement on January 21 with the Syrian leader, declaring that the intervention of the Big Powers in the form of military pacts and alliances was detrimental to peace and stability in West Asia. Welcoming Marshal Zhukov, the Soviet Defence Minister, at a luncheon on January 25, Nehru said that the friendship of India and the Soviet Union had a solid base. On January 30, Nehru took over the Defence portfolio as Katju resigned from the Cabinet to take over the Chief Ministership of Madhya Pradesh. Nehru's plane, "Meghdoot",

1957 on a flight from Mangalore to Raipur, made an emergency landing on a war-time air-strip, near Raipur, on February 26, owing to a fire in one of its engines.

Replying to critics of his Kashmir policy, Nehru, addressing a meeting at Kanpur on March 4, challenged the world "to show where India has broken, even in the slightest way, any of her pledges". As the President of the Bharat Sevak Samaj, Nehru appealed on March 9 to all men and women to unite for the defence and well-being of the country.

Inaugurating the 30th annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in New Delhi on March 23, Nehru attacked casteism, provincialism and linguism as manifested in the latest general election. Opening a foreign affairs debate in the Lok Sabha on March 25, Nehru said that despite the "painful shocks" India had experienced, especially over Kashmir, it was desirable to remain in the Commonwealth in the present context. With the conclusion of the general election, the new Central Cabinet, headed by Nehru, was sworn in by the President in New Delhi on April 17. This was Nehru's third Cabinet in succession since independence.

Inaugurating the annual conference of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation in New Delhi on April 13, Nehru assured the private sector that it would occupy an important place in the context of the broad economic policies of the Government, though the public sector would inevitably expand further. Nehru paid a moving tribute to the heroes of 1857 while addressing a mass rally in New Delhi on May 10 in connection with the centenary of the 1857 struggle.

Nehru left New Delhi on June 14 for a goodwill visit to Syria, Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. The same evening, the Mayor of Damascus conferred on him the honorary citizenship of the city. Nehru's tour of Scandinavia ended on June 25 and he left for London

1957 to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, which began on June 26. Nehru told the conference that "a military pact approach", far from solving West Asian problems, only created further complications. Speaking at a reception given by the India League in London on July 2, Nehru said that India would under no circumstances accept a solution of the Kashmir issue which overlooked Pakistan's aggression. The Commonwealth Conference ended on July 5.

Nehru then visited Holland, conferred with the Dutch Prime Minister, William Drees, lunched with Queen Juliana and reached Cairo on July 10 for talks with President Nasser. He visited Khartoum, the capital of the Sudan, on July 12. He received the Freedom of the City of Khartoum for his contribution to world peace on July 13 and left *via* Cairo for India on July 14.

Speaking at an A.-I.C.C. meeting held in New Delhi on September 1, Nehru challenged the view that democratic methods were slow and that authoritarian planning was more successful. Opening a foreign affairs debate in the Rajya Sabha on September 9, Nehru warned the Western Powers that India would regard as an "unfriendly act of the most serious character" any attempt to convert Goa into any kind of a base for the larger purpose of NATO or any other military alliance. Nehru attended a Bhoodan conference on September 20 and 21, at Yelwal, a village ten miles from Mysore. He received a delegation of Naga tribesmen in New Delhi on September 23–25 and discussed the question of creating a separate administrative unit for the Naga tribes. On September 27, he formally opened the Maithon dam, the third in the Damodar Valley, and dedicated it "to the welfare of the people of India".

From October 4 to 13, Nehru was on an official visit to Japan, during which he held discussions with Government leaders and visited factories and educational

1957 institutions. Referring to Russia's launching of Sputnik, Nehru observed in a speech at Hakone that it was "a great scientific achievement". At the same time, he could not help thinking that "the more we advance in science, the less we seem to progress in the field of civilization." On October 8, he addressed a huge meeting in Tokyo, sponsored by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, and was loudly applauded when he said, "This terrible machine of science and technology will kill humanity if political thinking is not changed on the basis of the Five Principles." He undertook on October 9 what he described as a "pilgrimage to Hiroshima". Nehru signed with Japanese Prime Minister Kishi a joint communique in which the two Premiers agreed on economic co-operation between their countries and declared that prohibition of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction was urgent and imperative.

At a news conference in New Delhi on November 28, he exhorted the leaders of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to suspend all nuclear and test explosions and to bring about effective disarmament. Addressing the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in New Delhi on December 2, Nehru praised the link between Commonwealth countries in the face of differences among them. Participating in a foreign affairs debate in the Lok Sabha on December 17, Nehru renewed his appeal to the U.S. and the Soviet Union for the immediate suspension of nuclear test explosions as a first step towards comprehensive disarmament and a summit meeting.

1958 Nehru and William Siroky, the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, who arrived in New Delhi on January 3, held talks for the next two days. At a State banquet on January 4, they commended the Panchshila as the only way to avoid war and issued a joint statement on

1958 January 5 calling for the immediate cessation of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests "as the first and concrete step" towards disarmament. Inaugurating the 45th session of the Indian Science Congress at Madras, Nehru expressed himself strongly against linking science with politics.

Nehru held discussions with President Sukarno on January 7 and 8 in New Delhi. They issued a joint statement on January 9, inviting economic co-operation between Indonesia and India. On January 8, 9 and 10, Nehru held discussions with Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, who had come on a State visit to India. In a speech to the standing committee of the National Development Council in New Delhi on January 12, Nehru declared that India must stop depending on food imports.

In reply to Soviet Premier Bulganin's letter on February 5 proposing a summit conference, Nehru supported the suggestion for top-level negotiations.

Nehru and King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan issued a joint statement in New Delhi on February 13 calling for a "meeting at a high level" to relax international tension.

Nehru took over on February 14 the Finance portfolio in addition to his other duties as a result of T. T. Krishnamachari's resignation in pursuance of a judicial finding on the Life Insurance Corporation's investments in a group of private concerns managed by a business man, Haridas Mundhra. On March 10, he issued a joint statement with Chivu Stoica, the Prime Minister of Rumania, in New Delhi welcoming the proposal for "summit" talks.

Inaugurating the 31st annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in New Delhi on March 10, Nehru said there was no inherent hostility between the public and private sectors in India. Addressing a news conference on April 14, he rejected as "totally and absolutely unacceptable"

1958 Frank Graham's proposal for a meeting of the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan under his auspices to settle the Kashmir question. He said, "We are not going to accept anybody as an umpire." Nehru welcomed the Soviet decision to suspend nuclear tests and expressed the hope that other countries would follow suit.

At the press conference, he admitted that he was feeling "rather flat and stale". Fifteen days later, he told the Congress Party that he would like to retire as Prime Minister for a period. But, on May 3, he bowed to the unanimous desire of the members to continue in office.

Expressing his anxiety over the consequences of the execution of the former Premier of Hungary, Imre Nagy, Nehru declared at a press conference on July 3 that the execution of Hungarian leaders was "an unfortunate reversal of the move towards lessening world tension".

Initiating a foreign affairs debate in the Rajya Sabha on August 26, Nehru gave an indication of the anxiety of the Government over the large-scale arming of Pakistan by the U.S. A joint communique issued by Nehru and Firoz Khan Noon, Pakistan's Prime Minister, who was in New Delhi on September 9, 10 and 11, said that "agreed settlements" had been arrived at in respect of the border disputes in the eastern region. On September 16, Nehru left for Bhutan and returned to New Delhi on October 2. He assured the Maharaja of Bhutan of India's willingness to help the State in its development activities. Nehru opened the "India 1958" exhibition in New Delhi on October 8.

Inaugurating a joint meeting of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the International Finance Corporation, he asked them to help underdeveloped countries "for the good of the world". Inaugurating the 14th annual meeting of the International Air Transport Association in New Delhi on

1958 October 27, he pointed out the significance of the role which the great airlines of the world were playing "in bringing people of different countries nearer each other and in promoting mutual understanding".

1959 Nehru welcomed to India Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana. At the end of prolonged talks in January, the two leaders agreed that war could never solve any international problem, and affirmed that peace could be maintained only through negotiations and mutual understanding. Nehru described Ghana as a "shining star of freedom in Africa" and Nkrumah as "the symbol of the African people who are emerging into freedom". Later, inaugurating the International Congress of Jurists, in New Delhi on January 5, Nehru observed that law and justice were often the first casualties in a cold war. He said, "The rule of law must run closely to the rule of life."

On January 9, moving a resolution on planning at the Nagpur session of the Congress, Nehru declared that the socialist way was the only way to progress in India. Towards this end he advocated co-operative farming and State trading in food grains and committed the Congress to those measures. Speaking on a foreign affairs resolution the next day, he reaffirmed India's fervent desire for friendly relations with Pakistan and her faith in the Panchshila.

On January 12, he held discussions with Otto Grotewohl, the East German Prime Minister, in New Delhi. He also received President Tito of Yugoslavia, who was visiting New Delhi during his Asian tour, on January 14 and 15. On January 21, he welcomed the Duke of Edinburgh, who had come to India as the leader of the British delegation to the Indian Science Congress.

Inaugurating the 46th session of the Indian Science Congress in New Delhi on January 21, Nehru referred

1959 to the conflict between individuals, groups and nations created by scientific discoveries and called on scientists to exert their influence on the side of peace and human happiness. On February 4, speaking at the golden jubilee celebrations of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, Nehru said that if science were to be divorced from the spiritual and fundamental values of life, the result would not be good for the world. On February 5, 6 and 7, Nehru held talks with Sardar Mohammed Daud Khan, the Prime Minister of Afghanistan, in New Delhi, "to strengthen the close and friendly relations between India and Afghanistan". On February 14, opening the sixth International Conference on Planned Parenthood in New Delhi, Nehru observed that unless the work of family planning was geared to the general advance in the economic and social spheres, it could not succeed.

On February 22, on the occasion of the first death anniversary of Abul Kalam Azad, Nehru inaugurated the Azad Memorial Lectures at New Delhi with an address on "India Today and Tomorrow". In a series of two lectures, he expressed his deep conviction that India could rapidly advance towards her goal of social and economic freedom only through planned but democratic methods and not through authoritarianism, which necessarily led to war and disruption. On March 7, addressing the annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in New Delhi, Nehru criticised its attitude and emphasised that the way to India's prosperity lay in State trading and co-operative farming. On March 10, he laid the foundation stone of the Indian Institute of Technology in Bombay.

On March 14, inaugurating the annual conference of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation in Bombay, Nehru said, "One of the big problems in modern life is to find a balance between the tendency towards concentration and the need for decentralisation."

1959 On March 23, Nehru gave a report on Chinese action in Tibet to Parliament. Speaking again on March 30, Nehru sympathised with the Tibetan people and expressed the hope that they would soon be enabled to enjoy full autonomy. On March 31, he told a Tibetan deputation in New Delhi that he hoped the "present difficulties in Tibet would end peacefully". On April 2, in a statement to Parliament, Nehru repudiated the Chinese charge that Kalimpong was "a commanding centre of the Tibetan rebellion". On April 3, in a further statement to Parliament, he confirmed the news of the Dalai Lama's entry into India. Addressing a news conference on April 6, Nehru explained in detail the events in Tibet and their effect on India. On April 24, Nehru met the Dalai Lama at Mussoorie and declared at a press conference that the Panchen Lama or the Chinese Ambassador in India could meet the Dalai Lama. On April 27, he announced in Parliament that several thousands of Tibetan refugees had entered India and had been granted asylum. He also gave a firm reply to Chinese charges of "expansionism". Speaking again on May 4, Nehru declared that the events in Tibet might have caused a set-back to the Panchshila as such but had in no way altered India's policy of non-alignment or her desire to secure the admission of the People's Republic of China to the U.N.

On June 5, Nehru welcomed the formation of a new opposition party, called the Swatantra Party, by C. Rajagopalachari, but doubted whether the party, being in his opinion a combination of several reactionary groups, was any better than a shadow on the wall. On July 7, Nehru said at a press conference that it was futile to refer the Tibetan issue to the U.N.

Nehru left New Delhi on June 11 for a three-day visit to Nepal. Speaking at a civic reception in Khatmandu the next day, he said, "India never lets down a friend. The relationship between India and Nepal should

1959 always be clear-minded and clear-hearted." During the visit, he held discussions with Premier Koirala and King Mahendra. A joint communique issued by the two Prime Ministers on July 15 said that "no country should be dominated by another and colonial control, in whatever form, should end."

Nehru inaugurated the truck-manufacturing unit of the Gun-Carriage Factory, Jabalpur, on July 21. Addressing a news conference on August 7 in New Delhi, he defended Central intervention in Kerala and the dismissal of the Communist Ministry in the State on grounds of internal security and peace. At the same press conference, Nehru complained of a "strange silence" on the part of China in regard to India's Notes protesting against Chinese maps showing large parts of Indian territory as Chinese territory.

Intervening in the Lok Sabha debate on a resolution recommending that English should be included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution on August 7, Nehru said that English would remain an additional official language as long as the non-Hindi-speaking people of India desired to retain it.

In a statement to Parliament on August 20, Nehru said that there were large Chinese forces all over Tibet but he did not think they were massed on the borders of Sikkim and Bhutan, two protectorates of India. He spoke on August 20 and 25 in defence of Central intervention in Kerala while seeking parliamentary approval of the President's proclamation.

Nehru discussed Indo-Pakistani problems at an hour-long meeting with Pakistani President Ayub Khan, who halted at Palam airport on his way to Dacca. The two leaders issued a joint communique declaring their conviction that they should adopt a "rational and planned approach" to Indo-Pakistani relations.

Nehru announced to a tense Parliament on September 2 that he had successfully persuaded the Chief of the

1959 Army Staff, General K. S. Thimayya, to withdraw his resignation. The Army Chief had offered to resign his post owing to "temperamental differences" with the Defence Minister, Krishna Menon. Nehru assured the nation that this "crisis" in the Defence Ministry affected in no way the defence of India's northern border in the context of Chinese aggression.

In the next fortnight, Nehru made a number of statements to Parliament on India's position regarding the McMahon Line. He said that although China had clearly committed aggression and the Panchshila had consequently received a set-back, India was prepared to negotiate minor adjustments and interpretations of the exact alignment of the border. He declared that the McMahon Line represented the Sino-Indian border, firm by treaty, custom, usage and geography.

Nehru presented to Parliament on September 7 a detailed White Paper describing the diplomatic exchanges between India and China since they signed a treaty on trade with Tibet in April 1954. The White Paper unfolded a relentless and provocative sequence of border claims and armed intrusions into Indian territory by the Chinese at different points on India's northern and north-eastern frontier. Nehru deplored the intemperate language and the rigid attitude of the Chinese Premier and his Government in their Notes and letters to the Government of India.

Nehru disclosed in Parliament on September 10 that the Government of India had warned the Dalai Lama not to indulge in political controversies, though he might continue to enjoy freedom of action with limitation. The Dalai Lama met Nehru during a twelve-day visit to New Delhi between September 2 and 14. Nehru repeated India's stand regarding the controversy over the McMahon Line at a press conference in New Delhi on September 11. Replying to a parliamentary debate on Sino-Indian relations on

1959 September 12, Nehru said China's claim was "wholly unacceptable" and would never be conceded "whatever the consequences". He said India refused to make a "gift of the Himalayas to the Chinese". He assured Sikkim and Bhutan that India would honour her obligations in respect of their defence.

Nehru paid an eight-day visit to Afghanistan and Iran and returned to Delhi on September 22. During his tour, he held discussions with the King and the Prime Minister of Afghanistan, and the Shah and Government leaders of Iran. They issued joint declarations affirming their faith in peaceful negotiations to end international disputes.

On arrival in Delhi, Nehru declared: "Principle remains principle; truth remains truth, whether another person utters lies or not. In this world today, there is no escape from co-existence except in co-slaughter. I put that as a positive statement. There is a choice today between co-existence and co-destruction. There is nothing in between."

Addressing the Chandigarh session of the A.-I.C.C., Nehru criticised the communists' approach to political and planning problems of India. He deplored the "disgraceful behaviour" of certain communists who had indulged in violence in the West Bengal Assembly a few days earlier. "So far as I am concerned, there can be no truce with such people," he said.

The next day, Nehru appealed for national unity in the face of a "serious threat from a big country", obviously referring to China's violation of India's northern border. He made the A.-I.C.C. adopt a resolution accusing China of ignoring the Panchshila and declaring that "the Chinese claim to extensive areas, backed by force and contrary to long usage" could not be admitted.

During a discussion of India's economic policy, Nehru assured the private sector of every opportunity

1959 to develop itself so long as it did not "throttle the public sector or public interest".

Nehru inaugurated a "revolutionary and historic" scheme of decentralisation and democratisation of administration at Nagaur in Rajasthan on October 2, the ninetieth birth anniversary of Gandhiji. He spent the next three days in Bombay and Poona and in his speeches there, he assured the people that there would be no undue delay in arriving at a final decision on the future of the bilingual State.

In a long letter to Chou En-lai, published on October 4, Nehru ruled out the possibility of negotiations on Sino-Indian border problems until the Chinese withdrew from points occupied by them in violation of the traditional frontier in Eastern Ladakh and from Longju in NEFA.

Addressing a press conference in New Delhi on October 8, Nehru announced that the "present State of Bombay will not be as it is for long." A correspondent asked him whether he felt a sense of fulfilment or frustration while looking back on his seventy years. Nehru replied: "That is a question of which you should be better judges than I. I have absolutely no sense of frustration in my life. I hope my face shows that. If you ask me whether I have done all I wanted to do, no, of course not. Who achieves everything that one wants to do? Achievement comes to us from time to time." Asked for the secret of his physical and mental alertness, Nehru said: "Negatively, because I am not frustrated. I find a great deal of interest in the work I do, although it may be irritating and all that. In the final analysis, it is fascinating to face big problems, sometimes even to be knocked down and getting up and facing them again. It is an exciting prospect."

Nehru discussed with Burmese Premier Ne Win in New Delhi on October 8 the relations of India and

1959 Burma with China, whose activities on the border had caused considerable anxiety in recent months.

Inaugurating a village panchayat union in Andhra State on October 11, Nehru asked the people of rural areas to establish a school, a service co-operative and a panchayat in each village as these were the minimum requirements for progress and prosperity. Speaking at a public meeting in Vijayawada the next day, he said that it was a matter for rejoicing that the U.S. and the Soviet Union today discussed disarmament and peace and "there is no talk of war now".

Nehru assured pro-Akali Sikhs from the Punjab in New Delhi on October 15 that he was against any kind of ministerial or official interference in religious, especially Gurdwara, affairs. He discussed with Nepal's Deputy Premier Subarna Shamsher in New Delhi on October 17 the situation in Tibet and on the Himalayan border.

Nehru made a six-hour aerial survey of the flood-affected areas of the Damodar Valley in West Bengal on October 21. He announced the Government's intention to constitute a high-power two-man commission to prepare a comprehensive flood-control scheme for the country.

Addressing a press conference in Calcutta the same day, Nehru said that he did not think that there was any "major idea" behind the Chinese incursions into Indian territory. All these were tagged on to the Tibetan problem. There were no Chinese troops on the other side of the border before the Tibetan rebellion.

Nehru said that the desire for peace as it existed in the Soviet Union in the context of East-West relations was not to be found in China. So far as the Soviet Union was concerned, it had settled down after the Revolution and now was also satisfied territorially. On the other hand, he said, China had not yet got over the first flush of revolution.

Life and Letters

An obvious and valuable source for any enlargement of the Nehru theme is to be found in the five books which Nehru himself has written. In order of publication, these are:

Soviet Russia, published in 1929 (and subsequently by Chetana of Bombay) after a brief visit by Nehru to Moscow during the tenth anniversary celebrations of the Soviet Revolution. It is a book of informal sketches and impressions, giving his views on the Revolution and the achievements of the Soviet Union in the succeeding decade.

Letters from a Father to his Daughter, a collection of thirty letters written to Indira, when she was ten, in the summer of 1928. It deals with the early history of man and is primarily meant for children. The book was published first in 1930 and then by Kitabistan, Allahabad, in 1938, and by the Allahabad Law Journal Press in 1947.

His *Autobiography*, which was completed by him in the Naini Central Prison in 1934. It was published by John Lane The Bodley Head of London in 1936 and by John Day of New York in 1941 under the title, *Toward Freedom.*

Glimpses of World History, which also were originally written as letters to his daughter while he was in prison, gives a rapid outline of history as Nehru understood it. It was first published by Lindsay Drummond of London in 1939 and by John Day of New York in 1942.

And, lastly, *The Discovery of India,* which he wrote during his long imprisonment in the Ahmednagar Fort between 1942 and

1945. It was first published by the Signet Press of Calcutta in 1946. The British edition was brought out by Meridian Books in 1946 and the American edition by John Day of New York in the following year. It is an interpretative history ranging from an appreciation of the Indus Valley civilization to what may be called a verdict on two centuries of British influence and domination over India.

All these books constitute a rich and important mine of information about Nehru's outlook on Indian and international affairs, and, to some extent, about Nehru the man and his personal philosophy. So do the collections of his speeches and stray writings published from time to time. The first such were a book edited and published by Ram Mohan Lal in 1929 under the title, *Jawaharlal Nehru — Statements, Speeches and Writings* with an appreciation by Mahatma Gandhi and *Recent Essays and Writings on the Future of India, Communalism and other subjects*, published in Allahabad in 1934. Then followed *India and the World,* published by George Allen and Unwin of London in 1936; *Eighteen Months in India,* published by Kitabistan of Allahabad in 1938; and *China, Spain and the War,* published again by Kitabistan in 1940. Most of these were later brought out by Lindsay Drummond of London in 1941 and John Day of New York in 1942 in an omnibus edition entitled *The Unity of India.*

Since Nehru became Prime Minister, a collection of his important speeches has been published by the Publications Division of the Government of India in three volumes: Volume I covers the period 1946 to 1949, Volume II 1949 to 1952 and Volume III 1953 to 1957. Of considerable historical interest is a collection of letters "mostly written to Jawaharlal Nehru and some by him", published in a book entitled *A Bunch of Old Letters* by the Asia Publishing House in 1958. The selection was made by Nehru himself during a brief holiday in the Kulu Valley at a time when he admitted having felt "stale and tired".

Although hundreds of articles have been written about Nehru and his work in the world press and research journals

since he entered politics, there are just a handful of significant biographies.

The earliest one to appear was written by Principal R. Dwivedi and published by the National Publishing House of Allahabad in 1931. It was titled *The Life and Speeches of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru* and divided into two parts, one giving a biographical account of Nehru and the other a selection of his addresses. Then, there was Anup Singh's *Nehru — The Rising Star of India*, published by John Day of New York in 1939. It was an attempt at an appraisal of Nehru the politician and his ideas. In 1941, the Allied Publishing House of Lahore brought out a book entitled *Nehru — The Spring of Eternal Youth* by Kumara Padmanabha Shivasankara Menon.

In 1942, the Popular Book Depot of Bombay published a book by Y. G. Krishnamoorthy called *Jawaharlal Nehru — The Man and his Ideas*, against the background of the satyagraha movement. It evaluates Nehru's political philosophy and is more a discussion of his ideas than a biographical study. The book carries an introduction by Pattabhi Sitaramayya and a preface by Bhulabhai Desai and Rameshwari Nehru. In 1943, *Jawaharlal Nehru — The Jewel of India*, written by Bashir Ahmad Dhar, was published by the Education Publishing Company of Lahore. In 1944, the India Printing Works of Lahore brought out H. L. Seth's eulogistic account, *Nehru: Prophet and Statesman.* In 1945, Bashir Ahmad Dhar's book was revised in the light of the communal question, with, curiously enough, a new sub-title, *The Political Weathercock.* It was published by Capstan of Lahore. In the same year, a monograph entitled *Jawaharlal Nehru* was prepared by M. N. Roy and issued by his Radical Democratic Party. It is a critical study by a great intellectual of the period. In 1946, the India Printing Works of Lahore brought out another book entitled *Life of Jawaharlal Nehru* by Jagat Singh Bright. The same year, P. D. Tandon edited a collection of writings by well-known Indian and foreign personalities on Nehru. It was published under the title *Nehru, Your Neighbour* by the Signet Press of Calcutta. Gandhiji, in a brief foreword to the book, wrote, "It

gives at a glance a good picture of the patriot as seen by various eyes."

In 1947, a revised edition of H. L. Seth's book, written three years earlier, was published by Hero Publications of Lahore under the new title, *Jawaharlal Nehru — The Red Star of the East*. In 1948, Mrs. Grace Yaukey, better known by her pseudonym, Cònelia Spencer, wrote *Nehru of India*, which was published by John Day of New York. In 1949, Shakuntala Masani wrote *Nehru's Story* for children with illustrations by the author herself. It was published by Oxford University Press.

In 1949, on Nehru's sixtieth birthday, a committee called the Nehru Abhinandan Granth, of which Rajendra Prasad was president, prepared a commemoration volume of tributes to Nehru by leading statesmen and thinkers of India and the world. It is a massive book divided into two parts, one devoted to contributions on Nehru by eminent personalities and the other to an exposition of the social and cultural life of India. In 1951, Norman Cousins, a journalist of international repute, had a series of talks with Nehru and reported them in *Talks With Nehru*, which was published by John Day of New York. In these talks, Nehru gives expression to his views on what he calls "the crisis of our time". In 1952, Sri Vatsa's *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru — A Study at Close Quarters* was published by Dikshit Publishing House, Madras. In 1953, D. F. Karaka's provocative book *Nehru — The Lotus Eater from Kashmir* was published by Derek Verschoyla of London. It is a study by "a disillusioned Indian". "The shining armour in which we clad this knight-errant," he remarks, "became in time only so much tinsel splendour."

Recently, two first-class biographies of Nehru have been published. The first of these is by Frank Moraes, a distinguished journalist and a former editor of *The Times of India*, Bombay, written on a commission from Macmillan, New York, in 1956. The book is an excellent study of Nehru's life, his role in the Indian independence movement and his stewardship of free India. It is written in a racy, graceful style, and makes delightful reading. The second, *Nehru: A Political*

Biography, is by Michael Brecher, Associate Professor of Political Science in McGill University, Montreal, and was published by Oxford University Press in 1959. Brecher was assisted in his task by the Nuffield Foundation, the McGill Research Committee, the Canadian Social Science Research Council and other organisations. It is a monumental work and represents an impressive study of Nehru's political career as well as a penetrating analysis of the currents of political thought in India since 1912.

Apart from these books, which deal exclusively with Nehru, there are exhaustive references to his life and ideas in several volumes dealing with the history of India's freedom struggle, particularly the official *History of the Indian National Congress*, and in hundreds of works on Mahatma Gandhi. There are, however, two books to which reference should be made because they are written by his close relatives and throw a flood of light on Nehru the man. One is Krishna Hutheesing's *With No Regrets*, published by Padma Publications, Bombay, in 1944, by John Day of New York in 1945 and by Lindsay Drummond of London in 1946. It is an absorbing account of the Nehru family and gives an intimate picture of Nehru as seen by his younger sister. The other is Nayantara Sehgal's *Prison and Chocolate Cake*, published by Alfred A. Knopf of New York in 1954. This book of reminiscences by one of Nehru's nieces portrays the transformation of an aristocratic family into a family of dedicated nationalists, and also deals in passing with certain social and cultural aspects of such families.

Of a different genre but nevertheless valuable to those interested in research on the Nehru theme is *A Descriptive Bibliography* compiled by an expert in library science, Dr. Jagdish Saran Sharma, and published by S. Chand & Company, Delhi, in 1955. It contains as many as 3,710 annotated references arranged under 289 subject headings.

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SURVEY IN PICTURES

The last section is an interesting portfolio of photographs, many of them quite familiar and some rare but rather old and faded, presenting a pictorial record of Nehru's seventy glorious years—from infancy to international fame.

Nehru

Published during Nehru's life.

RARE